9-1-1994

Principles and Practices of Buddhist Education in Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi

James G. Mullens

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

IN ASAṄGA'S *BODHISATTVABHŪMI*

By

JAMES G. MULLENS, M.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

IN

ASAṄGA'S *BODHISATTVABHŪMI*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1994) (Religious Studies) — McMASTER UNIVERSITY, Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Principles and Practices of Buddhist Education in Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

AUTHOR: James G. Mullens, B.A. (Simon Fraser University), M.A. (University of Victoria)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Graeme MacQueen

NUMBER OF PAGES: xi, 368

ABSTRACT

Ārya Asaṅga was one of Indian Buddhism's leading scholars in the middle Mahāyāna period, fourth - sixth centuries C.E.. His encyclopedic *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is considered to be one of Buddhism's foremost expositions of bodhisattva doctrine.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* contains a systematic description of the bodhisattva path of practice (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*) that emphasises broad knowledge and general education in the pursuit of enlightenment and liberation. The subjects of that education are the "five sciences" (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*) which range from Buddhist textual scholarship to the study of non-Buddhist religious literature and secular subjects, including works on grammar, logic, medicine and crafts.

The historical accounts of the seventh century Chinese pilgrim travellers Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing confirm that these five sciences were the basis for the curriculum at Nālandā Mahāvihāra, India's most renowned monastic university. Corroborating information indicates that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra and that its views and values were influential in Nālandā's approach to education.

The inclusion of non-traditional subjects as valid areas of "liberating knowledge" for Buddhists required an innovative philosophy of education. This was achieved in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* by reformulating certain key Buddhist concepts, most notably *dharma* ("teachings"), *prajñā* ("wisdom-insight") and *bodhi* ("enlightenment"). The result was a comprehensive vision of religious education that encouraged a quest for general

learning and broadened the range of knowledge deemed necessary for attainment of complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).

To illustrate the importance of education and embody principles of its acquisition and proper application, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also developed portrayals of role types. These include the bodhisattva depicted as a novice beginner, teacher, and mentor; and the *Tathāgata* Buddha portrayed as the personification of "all-knowledge" and defender of the faith. The Chinese travellers' accounts confirm that the students and masters of Nālandā Mahāvihāra were involved, in their daily lives, in activities that corresponded to these roles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Graeme MacQueen, whose assistance and encouragement as supervisor of this work have helped see it through to completion. I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professors Paul Younger and David Kinsley, whose approach to the study of Indian culture has motivated and inspired me. I must also express my sincere appreciation to Professors Yün-hua Jan and John Arapura, who, in the course of my years as a student at McMaster, guided me and profoundly influenced my attitude and outlook as well as my career direction.

I wish to also indicate my appreciation to Professor Braj Sinha, University of Saskatchewan, whose faith in my abilities gave me both the determination to complete this work and the necessary time to do so.

I would also like to thank Professors Robert Thurman and Mark Tatz, whose interest in Ārya Asanga's work, and on-going attention to its influence in Tibetan tradition, have been a direct benefit and continuing inspiration to me.

My deepest gratitude and most heart-felt appreciation are extended to my mother Jane, my wife Tsering Dolma and my children -- Christopher Tenzin, Jennifer Tselha and Gregory Sonam -- who have been understanding, patient and supportive while this dissertion was being completed.

This project was taken up as a result of my contact with, and enduring appreciation for, the Tibetan people and their leader H.H. Tenzin Gyatso, the XIVth Dalai Lama. The distressing condition of these kindly people motivated me to help them; becoming knowledgeable about their heritage and sharing that knowledge with others is the way I chose to do so. This interest has been the driving force in my life for two decades.

The principles and practices of education described in this study are part of the on-going religious and social culture of Tibet. The products of this training grace our planet today in the thoughts, words and deeds of Tibetan monks, nuns and lay-people and those who have learned from them. My gratitude and indebtedness for their profoundly positive influence on all our lives, and for the inspiration it gave me personally to seek out the roots of their valuable traditions, goes beyond words.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. Preamble

The primary objective of this study is to describe principles and practices of Buddhist education involved in the bodhisattva's path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*) as expounded in Ārya Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. This will be achieved, in part, with support from the accounts of Indian Buddhist practice recorded by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim travellers Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing.

The principal source of materials, and the main focus for the present study, is Ārya Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Despite universal acknowledgement of its importance in the development of Buddhist doctrine, little is known about the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s role in Indian Buddhist history. Moreover, only portions of it are available in Western language translation. The present study is an attempt to improve upon this situation in several related ways.

First of all, the topic under investigation is approached thematically and therefore relies on materials from many parts of the text. This provides an opportunity to develop a perspective on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as a whole, enhancing an appreciation of its scope and character as a teaching text and its value as an educational instrument.

Secondly, the present study includes translation and analysis of several important sections of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that have not previously appeared. These include, in particular, translation of the *prajñā* chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which is presented

and discussed in chapter six of this work, and studies of the text's use of the concepts of *saddharma* and *triyāna*, in chapter three. Several shorter sections of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* relating to the subject of education, including passages on the five sciences (chapter five), the signs of the *Tathāgata* and the roles of the teacher (chapter seven), likewise represent original contributions toward better understanding the text.

Finally, this study attempts to make a contribution to the ongoing discovery of Buddhism's historical depth and doctrinal variation by describing the connection that is made in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* between the bodhisattva ideal and the actual educational practices of the Mahāyāna religious aspirant. One of the unique features of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is its often surprisingly down-to-earth portrayal of the bodhisattva trainee and its occasionally very detailed description of the rigorous religious education in which he/she was engaged. This provides a valuable counterbalance to the detailed doctrinal summaries, high-minded values and lofty aspirations on which the text expounds in considerable detail, and with which it is most often preoccupied.

The present study attempts to highlight the interweaving of the actual and the ideal evident in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. This is done partly by drawing special attention to those aspects of the text that reveal its emphasis on practice and to the relationship the text establishes between religious ideals and social activities. It is assisted by reference to information from the Chinese travellers' accounts of Buddhist India, which are juxtaposed with the text in chapters two, five and seven.

The diaries of Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing have proven useful to this study in several ways. They have confirmed that the *Yogācārabhūmi(śāstra)*, which contains the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, was studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra Buddhist university during their residency there. The diaries have also attested to the fact that the so-called "five sciences", which are given attention in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, were a feature of Indian Buddhist higher education in the seventh century. Most importantly, Hsüan-Tsang's and I-Tsing's descriptions of Indian culture and Buddhist monastic training have both verified, and given life to, depictions of student-teacher relations and the roles of the Buddhist master that are also found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

Scholars of Buddhism know that the Indian historical record seldom permits corroborations of text and context. The present instance represents a fortuitous exception. The value of the connection between the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the pilgrim diaries has certainly not been exhausted by the present enquiry. It is hoped that the approach taken in this study will advance the reader's understanding of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s principles and practices of education, while conveying the flavour of the text; and, in addition, it is hoped that the pilgrim travellers' accounts will help recreate the setting in which the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was studied and applied.

The following introduction provides an outline of the general parameters of the present work and briefly describes the sub-topics and areas of discussion taken up.

2. Text and Context: Nālandā and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

Monastic institutions were established in India during the Buddha's lifetime as resting places and residences for the ordained renunciates. They were maintained to offer seclusion from the concerns and activities of the everyday world. The monasteries acted specifically as centers for the religious training of Buddhist monks and nuns, a role that became their traditional function during the first millennium of Buddhism.

During the fifth century of the Common Era, a new form of monastery developed, offering general education together with its traditional Buddhist training. This new institution was the *mahāvihāra* -- the "great residence" -- created as a response to pressures and changes in Indian society that demanded greater relevance and a more competitive spirit from the Buddhist institutions.

Nālandā Mahāvihāra was the first and foremost of the new monastic "universities". It was a Mahāyāna Buddhist institution that became involved in the affairs of the community around it, serving a student body of both laymen and monks with its range of educational activities. Nālandā also became renowned throughout Asia for its high standard of Buddhist scholarship.

The educational curriculum and general social orientation of Nālandā Mahāvihāra were significant departures from the previous conservative monastic norm. Innovation of this kind would have been impossible without a reappraisal, and in some cases a fundamental change, in views and practices that typified previous eras. The unique character of Nālandā required a systematic statement of Buddhist doctrine that addressed

the reality of the new social environment and gave religious sanction to educational activities undertaken there.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* of Ārya Asaṅga contains a new and innovative statement of doctrine that sets forth educational principles, goals, and techniques, addressing Nālandā Mahāvihāra's concerns. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is the Mahāyāna doctrinal section of a larger Buddhist encyclopedia. It is a scholastic composition of approximately 80,000 words that contains a systematic categorization and exposition of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva concept. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was both a reference source for the study of Mahāyāna ideals, and a practical teaching guide for the training of the Mahāyāna religious aspirant at Nālandā.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is directed at renunciates and lay people engaged in the Mahāyāna bodhisattva practices. It discusses qualities, describes exercises, delineates stages and defines goals to be reached by the bodhisattva aspirant. The text includes rules, ordination ceremony and confessional that form a code for Mahāyāna Buddhist trainees.

This study demonstrates that the bodhisattva ideal, and the principles of training contained in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, bridged previously divided and disparate educational orientations: the lay person engaged in general learning for worldly activity and the renunciate engaged in religious training inspired by world renunciation. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* proposed new religious ideals that united these orientations in a common goal -- the quest for liberating knowledge. Such knowledge was not restricted

to Buddhist scriptural study or meditation practice, but included knowledge in a far wider sense of the term.

The formulation in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* elevates the value of lay education and worldly professional pursuits to the status of religious instruction. At the same time it legitimizes and permits the study and teaching of non-traditional subjects by, and for, renunciates. The unique formulation of doctrine in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was therefore ideally suited for use at Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* bridges the conceptually divided religious spheres of the lay and renunciate Buddhist community by skilful interpretation and expansion of several key Buddhist ideas. The novel conception of a bodhisattva path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*) is the chief of these, employed to encompass worldly and renunciate orientations in a common course for religious advancement. This conception is furthered by innovative uses and definitions of the terms: *dharma* ("teaching"); *prajñā* ("wisdom-insight"); and *bodhi* ("enlightenment"). These conceptions and their innovations, and the contexts in which they were used and applied, are the chief subject of this dissertation.

3. Contents Overview

The study is presented in three parts. Part One deals with the authorship of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, its general structure and contents, and the context in which it was used.

Chapter one of the study therefore reviews research on the life of Ārya Asaṅga and presents an account of it based on traditional sources. It also surveys issues relating to Asaṅga's authorship of the text. The significance of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to Buddhist tradition generally is then described, together with a survey of the contents of the text and the scholarly studies that have been made of it. A general characterization of the text is then made on the basis of its structure, contents and doctrinal approach.

Chapter two cites evidence from the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims' accounts to establish that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra and used there to train students in Mahāyāna tradition. A brief history of Nālandā and an overview of the educational environment of the institution are given, verifying the allied presence of monks and laity.

Part Two involves an examination of the fundamental parameters of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s Mahāyāna doctrinal ascription and its depiction of the path of practice.

Chapter three explains how the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* views all Buddhist teachings as "true teachings" (*saddharma*) with a common capacity to lead to final release (*nirvāṇa*). The Mahāyāna bodhisattva's "true teaching", nevertheless, is considered to be the highest level.

This inclusivist Buddhist stance is reinforced by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s espousal of the "three vehicle" (*triyāna*) doctrine. Care in scholarly study maintains "true"

Buddhist doctrine and protects against production of "semblances" (*pratirūpaka*) that appear from within Buddhism during the present "Degenerate Age".

Chapter four outlines the central feature of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, namely its concept of the bodhisattva path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*), which depicts the course of intellectual, moral and spiritual development from latent potentiality to matured completion. This path proceeds through a number of consecutive stages (*vihāra*). The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* draws attention to the cultivation of inherent personal tendencies and stresses the importance of preparation for the path at the basic stage of "committed action" (*adhimukticaryā*). The "novice" bodhisattva is depicted as a real person, either monk or layman, developing through application to the six perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitā*).

Part Three examines certain key concepts in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that are the basis of its unique view and philosophy of education.

Chapter five explains how the bodhisattva engages in the study of doctrine (*dharma*) in order to equip him/herself with knowledge that will be of use both in personal progress and in the assistance of others. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does not confine itself to a traditional definition of *dharma* as Buddhist doctrine, but defines it broadly, including what it calls knowledge of the five sciences (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*).

These sciences involve not only Buddhist religious study, but also the study of other religions, logic, language and medicine which are all outside the usual corpus of Buddhist doctrine. In addition, worldly arts and crafts are considered aspects of *dharma* that are to be learned and taught as part of this expanded idea of Buddhist *dharma* and

its training. These spheres of knowledge provide the basis for the members of the Nālandā community to lead either religious or secular lives. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the Chinese pilgrim travellers' accounts are used together to describe the role of the five sciences in the lives and careers of the students and masters at Nālandā.

Chapter six explains how the educational principles and practices embodied in the concept of *dharma* are incorporated into the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s innovative definition of *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is generally associated in Buddhism with meditative insight and religious metaphysics. In the case of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* this aspect of *prajñā* is but one of several kinds to be acquired. *Prajñā* is intended here to signify understanding, wisdom, insight and knowledge in the fullest sense, viz., complete and "universal" knowledge.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* therefore presents *prajñā* in terms of a three-fold combination of metaphysical insight, knowledge of the five sciences and application of *prajñā* to worldly affairs through appropriate means (*upāya*). Wisdom and its perfection (*prajñāpāramitā*) thus include the active use of experience, insight and expertise in matters that are at times as much for secular application as they are for religious.

Chapter seven describes the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s depiction of the ultimate goal of the bodhisattva path of training, the attainment of complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* offers a realistic depiction of enlightenment, describing it as a ripening of inherent personal "enlightenment factors" (*buddhadharma*) culminating in the extraordinary body and mental prowess of a *Tathāgata* Buddha.

The *Tathāgata* is the personification of enlightenment and his condition is a direct consequence of the practices involved in *dharma* and *prajñā*. Moreover, amongst the factors that produce the *Tathāgata* ideal, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* emphasises student-teacher interaction and learning pursuits above all else. This represents a unique interpretation of the *Tathāgata*'s signs, as comparative textual analysis with two other versions of these signs shows.

The *Tathāgata*, together with the developed bodhisattva, are used in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to epitomise the roles of a Mahāyāna master as teacher, instructor, mentor and debater. These ideals are outlined and discussed in order to convey the importance of personal relations, study and training in the preservation and dissemination of Buddhist learning.

Chapter eight concludes with a summary of findings and a discussion of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s educational principles and philosophy of education. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s view of education is shown to be innovative in certain ways and traditional in others. It creates a place for general learning and worldly works within its religious value system and harnesses them toward attainment of the traditional renunciate goals of realization and liberation. Through this, value and religious sanction devolve on new educational activities and scholarly endeavours that have worldly application. The resulting integration of worldly and renunciate perspectives represents a unique exposition of Buddhist doctrine. In conclusion the role of the *mahāvihāra* in the

dissemination of general knowledge is reviewed and the question of whether this contributed to the decline of Indian Buddhism is taken up.

This study is predominantly text-based and is intended as a discussion of ideas, themes and concepts that have not previously been examined in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The major purpose of the study is to show the text's unique exposition and definition of certain key concepts, and the educational ideals and teaching models which they support. The discussion of the social environment and historical context in which the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was employed is presented for its supportive and corroborative value. This study, therefore, does not intend to present a thorough sociological analysis of Nālandā Mahāvihāra, nor a systematic study of Indian Buddhism in the Mahāyāna period.

PART I

ĀRYA ASAṄGA, *THE BODHISATTVABHŪMI* AND NĀLANDĀ MAHĀVIHĀRA

CHAPTER ONE

ĀRYA ASAṄGA AND THE *BODHISATTVABHŪMI*

A. The Life of Ārya Asaṅga

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* ("Stage(s) of the Bodhisattva"), is the fifteenth volume of a major encyclopedic work of Buddhist doctrine entitled the *Yogācārabhūmi* ("Stages of Yoga Practice"). The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was composed in Sanskrit in the late fourth century and its authorship is attributed to the Indian Buddhist monk-scholar Ārya Asaṅga. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* offers a detailed discussion of the Mahāyāna Buddhist concept of the bodhisattva and sets forth a course of discipline for the Mahāyāna religious aspirant which the text calls "the bodhisattva's path of practice" (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*).

Ārya Asaṅga is ranked amongst the great Buddhist scholars of India and is considered along with Ācārya Nāgārjuna to be one of the founding fathers of Mahāyāna philosophy.[1] Asaṅga's name is associated with a large body of written work which has been influential in the history of Asian Buddhism. His works were introduced to China and Tibet and from there to other lands in Asia. He is particularly noted as one of the co-founders of the *Yogācāra* school of the Mahāyāna.[2] Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu are respectfully referred to as "Asaṅga Bodhisattva" and "Vasubandhu Bodhisattva" in the Chinese and Tibetan accounts of the great scholars of India.

1. Assessing Ārya Asaṅga's Biographical Accounts

Asaṅga figures prominently both in the annals of Mahāyāna development in India and in the noteworthy lineage of his disciples, who form a central thread in the fabric of Asian Buddhism beyond India's borders. Asaṅga's name caught the attention of Western scholars with the translation of Buddhist scripture from Tibetan and Chinese sources and accounts of Indian Buddhist history in the works of Tāranātha, Bustön and Paramārtha.[3] As modern scholars have gradually translated and studied the works attributed to Asaṅga, his significance has become clear. The depth and complexity of his thought and its breadth of treatment attracted serious scholarly interest, earning him a prominent place in the Western academic study of Buddhism.[4]

There have been numerous attempts over the past century to verify details about Asanga's life and relation to the works attributed to him. As is the case with other eminent historical figures in Buddhist history, traditional accounts of his life are recognized to be a combination of fact and fiction.[5]

Modern scholars are not in dispute over whether there was a real historical person named Asaṅga who contributed in a major way to the development of Buddhist thought. The question that arises, rather, is to what extent traditional biographies about him are historically accurate accounts. While these biographies about Asaṅga are not purely hagiographic, they do include obviously fanciful material and in most cases there is no way of verifying the more sensible historical claims made.

Some would argue that this situation places the analysis of traditional biographies such as Asaṅga's more in the domain of literary criticism than in the domain of historical research. While this may be so, it does not follow that a study of Asaṅga's biographies has no worth for one examining the texts attributed to him. The approach taken to Asaṅga's life here is one that acknowledges that even Asaṅga's early biographers may have been in a similar position as modern researchers, attempting to discover an actual person behind a legend and collection of writings inherited from others.

While this clearly poses the possibility that there is nothing that can be reasonably stated about Asaṅga's "actual" life, this fact should not prevent an attempt to understand his life as "perceived" by tradition, particularly in relation to the contents of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* attributed to him. Indeed it may be argued that traditional perceptions of Asaṅga are in some respects more informative and useful than any historical reality, precisely because they reflect what was considered to be most important about him to Buddhist tradition.

Scholarship on the life and works of Asaṅga is well advanced. It is outside the scope of the present study to examine the full range of issues and areas of debate that have interested scholars of Asaṅga's life.[6] The following discussion of his life and works is therefore not intended to be a comprehensive treatment, but rather a summary of main points of the traditional life story and of works attributed to him.

2. The Traditional Accounts

There are no extant biographies of Asaṅga's life written during or immediately after his life, which is now generally agreed to have been between the mid-fourth and mid-fifth centuries C.E.[7] The colophons or contents of scholarly works attributed to Asaṅga contain no biographical material, and later Indian tradition, though it notes his name and his scholarly significance, is not particularly informative. As is common with Indian Buddhist history, most of what we do know of Asaṅga's life and achievements is to be derived from Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist sources.

The source regarding the biography of Asaṅga that is considered most authoritative because of its early date, is Paramārtha's study of the life of Vasubandhu, Asaṅga's younger brother, which is preserved in the Chinese tradition.[8] The two other major sources are the later Tibetan Buddhist histories (*chos-byung*) of Bustön and Tāranātha.[9] The following rendition of Asaṅga's life relies on these major accounts.

Asaṅga was born in North-Western India shortly after Buddhism had experienced a period of depredation and considerable destruction. Bustön's account mentions three periods of destruction that may be related to foreign invasions that left Buddhist monasteries and their supporting communities in a depleted state.[10] Asaṅga's birthplace was the city of Puruṣpura (modern-day Peshawar). He was the eldest son of a brahmin court priest of the Kausika clan. He had two brothers, Vasubandhu and Virincivātsu.[11]

In his youth, Asaṅga received an education in the arts and sciences from his mother and excelled in all his subjects. He showed an early inclination for the religious

life and joined the Buddhist order at a young age; his brothers likewise became Buddhist monks.[12] Asaṅga excelled in his religious education which included the study of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna *sūtras* under a learned scholar named Piṇḍola.[13]

Asaṅga is said to have "converted" to the Mahāyāna and embarked on a dedicated quest to receive instruction from no less an authority than Maitreya Buddha, resident in the Tuṣita heaven. The ostensible reason for this quest was the fact that Asaṅga could not fathom the teachings on emptiness (*śūnyatā*).[14]

Asaṅga's quest involved a twelve year period of meditative retreat which resulted in his meeting with Lord Maitreya. Asaṅga accompanied Maitreya to the Tuṣita heaven and there received instruction in Buddhist doctrine.[15] Asaṅga returned to the earth with what are known as the "Five Books of Maitreya", on which he later expounded and also taught to others.[16]

In the course of his ensuing career, Asaṅga attracted many students and composed a number of works. He came to the attention of the Indian king Gambhīrapakṣa and with his patronage founded a number of monasteries during the later part of his life.[17] Asanga is also said to have converted his brother Vasubandhu to the Mahāyāna and acted as his teacher.[18] Vasubandhu outlived Asanga and became renowned in his own right, popularizing the latter's works as well as composing his own. Ārya Asaṅga is stated to have died at the city of Rājagṛha after having taught at the University of Nālandā for a number of years.[19]

Asaṅga's religious biographers emphasise the fact that he was renowned for his ability to expound all branches of Buddhist learning. A kind of Buddhist ecumenism is introduced in Asaṅga's life story in that he is reputed to have been able to expound the *Tripiṭaka* scriptures of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhists. Asaṅga is reputed to have taught "in every manner, without showing bias for any *sūtra* or *siddhānta*",[20] and Buddhists of all persuasions learned their *sūtras* and *Abhidharma* from him.[21]

Asaṅga had a sharp intellect and skillfully defeated those who "followed wrong doctrines or wrong practices".[22] In Tibetan tradition it is stated that he also taught the five sciences of philosophy, language, logic, medicine and the arts.[23] Furthermore, Asaṅga's mental faculties included clairvoyance, as he was possessed of *pāracitta-abhijñāna*, knowledge of what was in other's thoughts.[24]

It is also recorded that Asaṅga founded monasteries in which there were monks and laymen. The monasteries and the students in them were ostensibly supported from Asaṅga's own personal resources.[25] His disciples all attained the miraculous power of attracting public veneration and were vastly learned in the *sūtras*.[26]

3. Scholarly Issues

There are a number of unsettled issues relating to Asaṅga's life and works. One of these is the question as to whether his name is rightly associated with all the written works attributed to him. A second recurrent area of interest is the figure of Maitreya in Asaṅga's life story. Contrary to the pious Buddhist belief that the Maitreya referred to

is the Buddha Maitreya, scholars generally feel that he is either a pious fiction or a real historical individual transformed by Asaṅga or later tradition.

A third issue which in some sense lies at the heart of the preceding two relates to questions of doctrinal history and the difficulty of determining to what extent Asaṅga was the recipient of already established ideas or the innovator of new ones. There is on-going debate on this topic and many points are still unclear. It is quite apparent from the works attributed to Asaṅga that there was a vast body of earlier Buddhist doctrinal material available to him for reference.

At the same time there is no question that a great deal that is new emanates from the time period in which Asaṅga lived. Most notable amongst these materials with relation to Asaṅga are the ideas and texts of the Yogācāra philosophical tradition of Vijñānavāda and Cittamātra.

4. Asaṅga's Relation to Maitreya

The significance of the relationship betwen Asaṅga and Maitreya deserves some attention. The traditional biographies would have it appear that Asaṅga's major scholarly works were in fact teachings received directly from the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Asaṅga, in effect, is a channel for the "divine truth", or even perhaps an emissary, of the coming Buddha. Scholars have naturally looked beyond this and now generally agree that the holy Maitreya was a real individual, not a figment of pious imagination. Maitreya, the

master, is therefore accredited by some as another co-originator of Yogācāra philosophy.[27]

There are, however, other complications relating to Maitreya. For example, the figure Maitreyanātha, who is referred to in relation to certain works attributed to Asanga and thought by some scholars to be Asaṅga himself, may be another historical person altogether.[28] These additional "presences" associated with Asanga are personalities with even less reliable data about them than with Asanga himself.

From the perspective of historical analysis, what is known about any historical Maitreya does nothing to help clarify the already obscure dimensions of Asaṅga's life. On the other hand, the presence of a divine Maitreya in Asanga's life-story does have relevance to certain key themes and ideas in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Further consideration of Maitreya as legend is therefore warranted.

Visions and encounters with the great bodhisattvas are an accepted feature of Mahāyāna tradition, often considered as validating the authority of its doctrines.[29] From the point of view of tradition, it is likely that validation of this sort is the chief reason that the Bodhisattva Maitreya is readily accepted as part of the Asaṅga story. It is known, in addition, that ritual worship and meditation on Maitreya were popular practices during Asaṅga's time and that Maitreya may have had an extensive cult following in India, as it did in other parts of Asia.[30] Thus it is not unreasonable, as his biographical tradition indicates, that Asanga was involved in this practice himself.

The significance of the tradition of Asaṅga's direct association with Maitreya and receipt of doctrines from the acknowledged next Buddha has, however, particular relevance in the light of the content and thrust of Asaṅga's works and other attributions give him by his biographers.

The figure of Maitreya appears in a number of places in the Buddhist literature of a variety of Indian Buddhist schools and traditions. Occasional reference to him is found in *Āgama* literature,[31] though he is only referred to once in the *Pali Canon*. According to all these traditions, Maitreya is destined to appear in the far distant future, at which time he will once again turn the wheel of *dharma*, as Śākyamuni did for the current age. According to tradition, Maitreya presently resides in the Tuṣita heaven, where he is completing the final stages of his path to Buddhahood.[32]

The future coming of Maitreya is associated with the renewal of the *śāsana* ("authoratitive teaching") and recounted in Buddhist stories of the degeneration and recovery of personal and social morality. The best known of these is set forth in the *Cakkavattisimhanāda sutta* in the *Pali Canon*. There are indications in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that its author was aware of this *sutta*, or a very similar version of the story that is told in it.[33]

An important theme in the *Cakkavattisimhanāda* is its depiction of human beings involved in a process of moral decline due to the loss of righteous order (*dharma*) in the world, which leads to corruption, chaos and war.[34] The *BBH* states in several places that the world is presently living in this so-called "Degenerate Age". There will

eventually be a regeneration of morality and Maitreya is the coming Buddha and preceptor who instructs the next righteous king when the new "Golden Age" of human history arrives in the distant future.[35]

Maitreya's relationship to the world, as seen in this myth, is noteworthy on several accounts. An important feature of the myth in the Indian Buddhist traditions is the fact that Maitreya does not intercede at the time morality and worldly conditions are at their lowest ebb; rather, he appears once the world has regenerated morality of its own accord. At the low point of the story, it is the virtue of a handful of surviving individuals that causes a gradual up-swing in moral behaviour.[36] Then progressively, over many lengthy generations, there is a return to a condition of proper morality. It is only once this process is completed that Maitreya appears, not as an intercessor, but as a completer of the myth of renewal.

In the traditional accounts of Asaṅga's relation to Maitreya, it is apparent that the latter's time for appearance in the world had not yet come, though he was accessible through devoted prayer and meditation.[37] In the apocryphal tale of Asaṅga's relation to Maitreya, it is only Asaṅga who can see and communicate with Maitreya properly as Maitreya was invisible to others because of their lack of spiritual merit.[38]

It appears from references in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to the degeneracy of the times, that its author believed the world to be approaching the predicted state of low ebb. In this context, attributing direct association of the work with Maitreya gave its teachings

powerful credentials as the basis for the type of moral regeneration predicted in the mythic story.

Furthermore, the logic of the renewal myth, pursued to its conclusion, indicates that Maitreya is not destined to appear until the moral regeneration takes place. Thus, a factor in the traditional view of Asaṅga's scholastic activites and personal life is their role in the larger process of guiding humanity toward the higher moral condition required for Maitreya's appearance. This can be correlated with the fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* pays particular attention to morality (*śīla*), devoting the largest chapter of its exposition to rules and observances that constitute a code of conduct and Mahāyāna *Vinaya*.

The fact that Asaṅga is closely associated with Maitreya, and not with other bodhisattvas, may also be of significance. Maitreya originates within the earliest strata of Buddhist history and retains a place of reverence in all the Buddhist schools. Unlike the celestial bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna tradition that were not adopted by non-Mahāyānists, Maitreya is a personage who receives reverence from all. Maitreya is, therefore, a figure of validation acceptable to all Buddhists. Had Asaṅga been associated with Amitābha or another of the exclusively Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, he would have clearly been showing a Mahāyāna bias, making his teachings unacceptable to non-Mahāyānist Buddhists.

The traditional portrait of Asaṅga depicts a person who was not only a scholar and philosopher, but also a widely-versed teacher and fully-equipped defender and

propagator of the Buddhist faith. His association with Maitreya, his equal knowledge of pre-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna traditions, and the emphasis on him systematizing and teaching all aspects of Buddhist thought, creates a powerful image. The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* reflects this rich diversity, and is clearly a product of a devout, yet "ecumenical", Buddhist mentality.

The question may once again be raised as to whether one can look to Asaṅga's traditional accounts for historical information, and whether there is, or indeed even whether there need be, an historical figure that actually engaged in all the activities that have been attributed to him. Many of the features of Asaṅga's traditional account could quite simply be reconstructed from the contents and emphasis of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and other works attributed to him.

For example, the present study will show that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* espouses education in the five sciences that Asaṅga mastered and taught, that it addresses its teachings to renunciates and laity, and advocates learning and teaching all levels and doctrines of Buddhism. The text also praises the virtues of generosity and emphasises the importance of championing Buddhism against its opponents.

The text describes virtuous ideals and moral behaviour, and is concerned that *dharma* is studied and engaged in, in order that Buddhism does not decline. It describes the difficulties of understanding emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and offers ways to make that subject understandable. It particularly advocates the importance of patience in the career of the novice in order to eventually experience results from study and practice.

These examples and others from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* show that the legendary character of Asaṅga could have easily developed by attributing the values and practices espoused in the text to a person who could have practised them. This process becomes more evident when one compares the legendary accounts of Paramārtha, Bustön and Tāranātha. The latest version (Tāranātha) is the one that is most embellished, though even the earliest (Paramārtha) reflects some values and views expressed in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

Thus, pious Buddhist tradition has clearly embellished on Asaṅga's life; indeed it may have even invented it totally, based on the contents of the works attributed to him. This tendency to create heroes and champions is nonetheless significant and important to note, as it enshrines in the deeds of one person what is intended to be an ideal for others. The fact that later Buddhism has seen fit to build its image of a Buddhist champion with these kinds of features is analogous to the way that the ideal teacher and defender of the faith are developed and portrayed in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s bodhisattva ideal. As has been noted earlier, far from seeking to dismiss this kind of piety, it is instructive to recognize that the verisimilitude of Asaṅga's life story is precisely what makes the contents of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* congruous to those who practise and espouse it and thereby serves to continue to foster and preserve tradition itself.

5. Works Attributed to Asaṅga

There are a number of works attributed by tradition to Asaṅga.[39] Modern scholarship has shown that certain works bearing his name could not have been written by him, on the basis of dating.[40] Other works are questionable because of content.[41] There are still others over which disagreement exists as to Asaṅga's role in their composition. The remaining works, whose provenance accords with Asaṅga's time, and whose contents, though varied, accord in distinctive ways with one another, comprise the set of core texts that most scholars consider that Asaṅga authored.

The works associated with Asanga include the so-called "Five Books of Maitreya" and a number of other studies, including the *Yogācārabhūmi*, of which the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is a part.[42] There are tantric works associated with his name or that of Maitreyanātha, which some scholars consider to be Asaṅga's, but this ascription is not universally agreed on.[43]

Even with this minimal number of works attributed to him, Asaṅga appears as a well-read, exceptionally learned and immensely productive scholar. It has been suggested on this account that even some of those works generally agreed to be Asaṅga's might have been collaborative efforts with others, with Asaṅga being designated as author but acting as something more akin to "editor in chief".[44]

Alex Wayman, who has investigated these issues extensively, reduces the number of Asaṅga's works to a core group of four which on grounds of contents and provenance can be safely attributed to the same author. These works are the *Yogācārabhūmi(śāstra)*,

Abhidharmasamuccaya, *Mahāyāna-saṃgrāha* and the *Prakāranyaśāsanaśāstra*.[45] Etienne Lamotte, who otherwise agrees with this grouping as plausible, still sees "several hands at work", even in this limited group.[46]

The *Yogācārabhūmi* (also known as the *Yogācārabhūmi-(śāstra)* in Chinese tradition) is the lengthiest and most comprehensive of core works directly associated with Asaṅga. Nonetheless, the nature of Asaṅga's relation to the *Yogācārabhūmi* is still the subject of some disagreement. In view of its encyclopedic character and treatment of a vast range of Buddhist doctrine, it has been suggested that it could not be the work of only one man.[47] Furthermore, the fact that the *Yogācārabhūmi* has a core element and four related adjuncts, suggests to some that it was a product of lengthy and studied effort, that may have lasted through several generations of scholars![48] As the question of authorship and the stages of composition of the *Yogācārabhūmi* are not factors integral to the subject of this study, these matters will remain unexplored here.[49]

B. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

1. The Influence of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

The impact of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (hereafter referred to as *BBH*) on Buddhism in India and Asia has been profound and long-lasting. The *Yogācārabhūmi* (hereafter referred to as the *YBH*, and especially the *BBH* volume of it, were of enduring interest

to Mahāyāna Buddhists in India, where the *BBH* served as a major reference text from the fifth to at least the eleventh centuries.[50]

Translations from the original Sanskrit *YBH* and *BBH* texts along with Indian commentaries appear in Chinese and Tibetan canonical sources.[51] The *BBH* was first translated into Chinese in the fifth century by Dharmakśema, with subsequent versions by Paramārtha in the sixth century and Hsüan-Tsang, after his stay at Nālandā Mahāvihāra in the seventh.[52]

The *BBH* was likely introduced into Tibet in the eighth century, though it became prominent with the Kadampa school of the eleventh century and Gelug-pa school which later emerged from the Kadampa.[53] In the present day, the study and application of the *BBH* is found in Tibetan tradition beyond Tibet amongst Buddhist scholars in exile.[54]

2. Studies and Summaries in European Languages

Though Asian Buddhist scholars have been acquainted with the *BBH* for well over a millennium, Western scholars have come to know of it only in the last hundred years, and the translation and interpretion of the *BBH* has been slow work. The first full Sanskrit text version, with lacunae filled from the Tibetan translation, was published by Unrai Wogihara and became available in the 1930's. This romanized Sanskrit version has a useful introduction, though the outline of contents is brief.[55] The publication of a second, complete Sanskrit devanāgari text by Nalinaksha Dutt in the 1960's includes

an "Analysis of Chapters", offering a complete, though cursory summary of the entire *BBH* contents in its introduction.[56]

A well-translated contents analysis of the first eight chapters of Book I of the *BBH* was published in English and French by Cecil Bendall and Louis de la Vallée Poussin in the early 1900's.[57] The best discussion about the date of author and text, lexicography and other matters relevant to the *BBH* and its relation to Asaṅga's other works is found in Alex Wayman's study of the *BBH*'s kindred *Śrāvakabhūmi*.[58]

In addition to summaries and notes specifically on the text itself, the *BBH* has been used as a general reference source by a number of Indian and European scholars in their expositions of Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition. In this sense the *BBH* has already contributed a great deal to the West's understanding and conception of the Indian Mahāyāna. Notable amongst these studies are Har Dayal's pioneer classic *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*[59] in which the *BBH* is referred to frequently; and Nalinaksha Dutt's *Mahāyāna Buddhism*,[60] which similarly employs the *BBH* as a general reference to describe and analyse the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal.

3. Translations and Analyses in European Languages

Despite the *BBH*'s acknowledged importance for the West's knowledge of Buddhism, only a few chapters of the text have been translated and published in European languages. These chapters are: (i) Book I:xviii on contemplation (*dhyāna*) by Paul Demiéville as: "Le chapitre de la Bodhisattvabhūmi sur la Perfection du

Dhyāna"[61]; (ii) *BBH* I:iv on "reality" (*tattva*) by Janice Willis as: *On Knowing Reality: the Tattvārtha Chapter of Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi*;[62] and (iii) *BBH* I:x on morality (*śīla*) by Mark Tatz as: *Asaṅga's Chapter on Ethics: with the commentary of Tsong-kha-pa*.[63]

Each of these modern authors translated specific chapters of the *BBH* for different, yet equally compelling, reasons. Thus the first complete, though relatively short, chapter of the *BBH* to appear in a Western language was Paul Demiéville's French rendition of the chapter on *dhyāna* (meditative absorption) in the mid-1950's. Demiéville was interested in *dhyāna* because it is integral to Ch'an Buddhism and Yogācāra philosophy, which were subjects of major interest to him. Demiéville focussed on the *dhyāna* chapter because he felt the subject of meditation was an apt one for a premiere translation from the *Yogācārabhūmi* to the Western world. *Dhyāna* is one of Buddhism's main concerns, and as he put it: ".. le *Dhyāna* en particulier, le chapitre de la *Bodhisattvabhūmi* qui y est consacre apporte une des etudes les plus poussees qu'on puisse trouver dans la litterature bouddhique."[64]

Janis Willis, on the other hand, relying on assertions from the Tibetan tradition that the *tattva* ("reality") chapter is the only chapter of the *BBH* that teaches doctrine, while the rest teach practice [65], is able to say of her choice of chapters: "In many respects, the *Tattvārtha* chapter is the focal point of the whole treatise [i.e., *BBH*]. It is the only chapter which addresses itself to Mahāyāna doctrine, laying bare for the

reader the proper ways in which reality should be understood and perceived by one coursing in the Bodhisattva Vehicle." [66]

Mark Tatz, in translating the chapter on ethics, which is the longest of the entire *BBH*, follows his Indian and Tibetan commentators in stressing the importance of morality generally, and particularly as set out in the *BBH*, as the basis for bodhisattvas in training. As he states: "ethics, in the broader view that is taken by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, is not merely the foundation of higher trainings; it encompasses all... the Chapter on Ethics is virtually a condensation of the whole of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*: in it topics of other chapters are adduced as a bodhisattva's duty".[67]

It is perhaps not so remarkable, given the depth and diversity of materials in the *BBH*, that each of these writers found in its pages something that they felt was central to the text itself and to Buddhism in a general way. The present study is similarly concerned with describing what it sees as a central concern of the text, namely the portrayal of major principles and practices of education to be taken up by the student of the Mahāyāna. Thus this study follows more closely on the work of Tatz than on Demiéville or Willis, in that it focuses on the application of Mahāyāna ideals in the daily life and training of the bodhisattva aspirant.

Finally, an incomplete and unpublished draft English translation of the *BBH* was prepared in 1978 by Dr. Robert Clarke and other scholars in Dharmasala, India, based on the Sanskrit original and the Tibetan translation of the text and its commentaries. A

copy of that draft was made available to the present writer by Dr. Robert Thurman, and it has proven useful as a guide to the preparation of this work.[68]

4. Contents

a. Introduction

The *BBH* was written during a period of Indian Buddhist scholasticism between the first and sixth centuries C.E. that was as prolific as it was profound. The *YBH* and its *BBH* section occupied a prominent place toward the end of that period, which was a formative one for all the Indian schools of philosophy and religion. For Buddhism, this era witnessed the emergence of the Mahāyāna religious and philosophical tradition based on ideas and doctrines expounded on in new *sūtras* purporting to be the word of Buddha.[69]

These products of inspired minds shared a common vision of a renewed enlightenment potential embodied in the concept of the bodhisattva - "the being destined for enlightenment". The "good news" of this teaching drew a sufficient following for modern scholars to speak of a "Mahāyāna movement".[70]

The Mahāyāna *sūtras* were many and varied, perhaps amounting to hundreds of different texts.[71] There were many new groups, or at least new scholarly positions, based on these *sūtras* and their interpretations. There was an uncertain and at times apparently antagonistic relationship between adherents of the newly emerging Mahāyāna and their more conservative (non-Mahāyāna) colleagues. There was apparent

contradiction, if not outright conflict, between newly emerging schools within the Mahāyāna itself.[72]

The history of the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism is a fascinating, though obscure and difficult topic, full or guesswork and open to many and varied interpretations.[73] One need only note at this juncture that by the time of the *BBH*'s writing there were sufficient Mahāyāna texts and ideas to form a separate scriptural collection or "basket" (*piṭaka*).[74] Enough, also, that the doctrines involved in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* warranted collation and description of the kind given by the *BBH*.

b. Contents Outline

Asanga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi* details the qualities, characteristics, topics of study and activities of individuals engaged in the bodhisattva course of study (*bodhisattvaśikṣā-mārga*), from the initial stage of abiding in lineage (*gotra*) to the completion of the course as a fully-endowed *Tathāgata*.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is comprised of three main divisions (*yogasthānam*) titled: I. Fundamentals (*Ādhāra-Yogasthānam*); II. Supplementary (*Ādhārānudharma-Yogasthā-nam*); and III. Completion (*Ādhāranista-Yogasthānam*). Each of these divisions, (referred to as Books I, II, III) contains chapters (*paṭalam*) of varying lengths with numerous sub-sections. The text totals 410 pages (approximately 80,000 words) in Wogihara's edition. The following outline shows the Books and chapters and their lengths:

Book I: Fundamentals (*Ādhārayogasthānam*)

Chapters (*Paṭalam*)

i. Lineage (*gotra*) pp. 1-11:
ii. The Enlightenment Aspiration (*cittotpāda*) pp. 12-21
iii. Benefit of Self and Other (*svaparārtha*) pp. 22-36
iv. The Meaning of Reality (*tattvārtha*) pp. 37-57
v. Powers (*prabhāva*) pp. 58-77
vi. Development (*paripāka*) pp. 78-87
vii. Enlightenment (*bodhi*) pp. 88-94
viii. Lineage of Strength (*balagotra*) pp. 95-113
ix. Giving (*dāna*) pp. 114-136
x. Morality (*śīla*) pp. 137-188
xi. Patience (*kṣānti*) pp. 189-199
xii. Vigour (*vīrya*) pp. 200-206
xiii. Absorption (*dhyāna*) pp. 207-211
xiv. Wisdom (*prajñā*) pp. 212-216
xv. Means of Gathering (*saṃgrahavastu*) pp. 217-230
xvi. Worship/Service/Immeasurables(*pūjāsevapramāna*)pp.231-49
xvii. Conducing to Enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya*) pp. 250-284
xviii. Bodhisattva Qualities (*bodhisattvaguṇa*) pp. 285-300

Book II: Supplementary (*Anudharmayogasthānam*)

Chapters (*paṭalam*)

i. Bodhisattva Signs (*bodhisattvaliṅga*) pp. 301-306
ii. Orientation (*pakṣa*) pp. 307-311
iii. Special Intention (*adhyāśaya*) pp. 312-316
iv. Stations (*vihāra*) pp. 317-358

Book III: Fulfilment (*Ādhāraniṣṭayogasthānam*)

i. Birth (*upapatti*) pp. 359-361
ii. Assistance (*parigraha*) pp. 362-366
iii. Stages (*bhūmi*) pp. 367-370
iv. Activity (*caryā*) pp. 371-374
v. Marks and Minor signs (*lakṣaṇānuvyañjana*) pp. 375-383
vi. Attainment (*pratiṣṭhā*) pp. 384-419

5. The *BBH* as *Śāstra* and *Abhidharma*

One of the significant features of the *BBH* is the range and variety of detailed categories used in its compilation. It is reminiscent of the Pāli *Abhidharma* texts and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* in this respect, in that it organizes and summarizes a great amount of doctrine in a relatively short space. There are several hundred sets and sub-sets of categories of doctrinal items,[75] and though these usually follow in a discernible progression, many are listed with little or no commentary.

There is also considerable difficulty determining the source of most of the materials in the text, because, unlike the later *Śikśāsamuccaya* for example, the *BBH* does not often cite the texts from which its materials are drawn.[76] In many instances, one also cannot be sure whether the categories that are used to organize the details of the *BBH*'s information, or even the details themselves, actually exist as such in specific Mahāyāna texts, or whether the author has devised these categories and provided his own rendition of information to suit the structure of the work as it proceeded. As it would take an encyclopedic knowledge of Buddhism to trace the sources of these hundreds of categories, the present research has not attempted to do so.

The *BBH* may be characterized as a *śāstra*, conforming in certain ways to that type which Y.H. Jan has defined as "arranging in a regular system that which (in Scripture) is in disorder".[77] There is a direct reference to this process in the body of the text itself, where at the end of a thorough and detailed discussion of the perfections (*pāramitā*), the *BBH* declares:

> "This [preceding] teaching should be understood as comprising the teachings concerning the six perfections, given randomly by the Blessed One in various *sūtras*.
>
> The passages teaching or explaining the perfections, from giving to wisdom, [as presented] in the *sūtra*-scriptures spoken by the *Tathāgata* are here arranged into the nature of giving, etc. up to he purity of giving and epitomized in an appropriate manner."[78]

Though the arrangement of the materials is certainly systematic, it is at the same time complex. There are numerous sub-categories that often treat the same topics in different contexts. For example, each of the perfections (*pāramitā*) has its own chapter (*BBH* I, chapters ix through xv), but there are also lengthy references to the perfections in other parts of the work (e.g., *BBH* I:i *BBH* III:iv), as well as recurrent references in passing. The same situation holds true with many other subjects.

The effect of this detail and complexity is generally one of reinforcing, by reiteration and recombination, the importance of certain topics central to the text. Thus the text is demanding, but not confusing. It must also be added that despite distance and separation in the text, once a statement has been made, or a doctrine set forth, there are no contradictions or identical repetitions of the same materials later on.

6. References in the *BBH* to Other Texts

a. Bodhisattvapiṭaka

The *BBH* purports to be a synopsis of Mahāyāna doctrine *in toto*, indicating that it is taking all Mahāyāna materials into account. One self-description in the text states

that it is a " codex of the bodhisattva collection (*bodhisattva-piṭakamātṛka*);....all the topics and explanations of the whole Bodhisattva collection are included and taught in this Stage of the Bodhisattva."[79] This statement raises the question as to what is meant by the "*Bodhisattva Piṭaka*".

There are several references to such a collection in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, yet there is regrettably no list of texts referred to that comprise it.[80] Alex Wayman, basing his observations on Japanese sources, initially concluded that the Bodhisattva collection was the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. He appears to have later changed his mind, preferring instead to single out an obscure Mahāyāna text with the title *Bodhisattvapiṭaka sūtra* as the possible source, though he expresses doubts even then.[81]

Mark Tatz prefers the idea, which is shared by Dutt and the present writer, that there existed a more general collection of Mahāyāna *sūtras* from which Asaṅga drew information as required.[82] The *BBH* would appear to be referring to a collection of *sūtras*, given the way the term *Bodhisattva Piṭaka* is used. Thus, for example, the *BBH* states that its contents are based on the *Bodhisattva Piṭaka* which has been separated from the *Śrāvaka Piṭaka* (non-Mahāyāna scriptural collection) for the purposes of describing the bodhisattva path.[83]

At several places in the text the statement "according to the *sūtras*" (*yātha sūtra*) is made. In some instances, the *sūtra* concerned is named, but in other instances, it is unclear whether this reference applies to an *Āgama* or Mahāyāna *sūtra*, despite the fact that the non-Mahāyāna is ostensibly not included. It appears that the author is assuming

a reader's knowledge of both.[84] There is also considerable internal cross-referencing to chapters in the text, either stated directly, or suggested.[85] There are also references to other parts of the *YBH* than the *BBH*.[86]

b. *Mahāyāna Saṃgraha*

There is one other self-description made in the colophon of the *BBH* stating that it is a "Collection of the Mahāyāna" (*Mahāyāna Samgraha*). This has caused some confusion for scholars, as there is another text by this name also attributed to Asaṅga. It seems more likely that Asaṅga intended this term as a general description of the nature of the contents of his *BBH* work, rather than a title. There is, in fact, reference to the *Mahāyāna Saṃgraha*, which clearly intends a separate text, elsewhere in the *BBH*.[87]

c. *Daśabhūmika sūtra*

Though one cannot say with certainty what Mahāyāna *sūtras* comprised the Bodhisattva collection, there are references in the *BBH* to Mahāyāna *sūtra* works that give some indication. The *Daśabhūmika sūtra*, which is itself considered a classic statement of bodhisattva doctrine, is referred to frequently in Book II:iv, when discussing the stations and stages that the bodhisattva goes through on the course of study.[88] However, Har Dayal notes that there are discrepancies between the *Daśabhūmika* as presented in the *BBH* and the extant *Daśabhūmika*.[89]

d. Miscellaneous Mahāyāna

The *Daśabala sūtra*, another Mahāyāna text, is quoted in Book III in reference to the powers of the *Tathāgata*.[90] In the chapter on reality (*tattvārtha paṭalam*), there is reference to the *Bhāvanāsaṃkrantisūtra*, an early Mahāyāna *sūtra* that deals with meditation.[91] In addition to these direct references, there are other materials that appear to be drawn from Mahāyāna sources. For example, in Book I:xvii there is a rendition of the story of the carts as an example of skilful means, referring perhaps to the Lotus *sūtra*.[92]

Alex Wayman has stated that the *BBH* does not show any evidence of influence from the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.[93] There are, nonetheless, several statements in the text concerning the study of this literature, if one takes the statement "voidness-imbued *sūtras*"[94] to refer to the *Prajñā* materials. While it may be true that no specific *Prajñā* texts are quoted, it is likely that Asaṅga was familiar with these materials when composing his work. Janice Willis has shown that Asaṅga's understanding of reality (*tattva*) is in every way commensurate with the Madhyamika position.[95]

e. Miscellaneous Others

The third main source of materials in the *BBH* is non-Mahāyāna material and at least one non-Buddhist work. For example, there is a *Lakṣana sūtra* cited as the source for the thirty-two major signs and eighty minor marks of the *Tathāgata*.[96] This text and other materials, such as materials that appear to be excerpts from the *Cakkavatti* (though

the title is not cited), are also found in the *Āgamas* and other sections of the pre-Mahāyāna literature. They are used in the *BBH* mainly to provide examples and offer support for positions taken in the text.[97] This has also been noted by Willis.[98]

Within the structuring of the discussion of the six perfections (*pāramitā*) there are materials that appear to be developed concepts also found in the *Anguttara* and other *Pali Nikayas*.[99] The *BBH* does not use *Jātaka* materials explicitly, though in the chapter on generosity (*BBH* I:ix) there are distillations of *Jātaka* ideas relating to the giving of the body to others. There is even a stray reference to the *Kāmasūtra* of the Hindu tradition.[100]

The only individual named in the text is Samatha Katyayana: Book I:iv. Dutt identifies the materials quoted in association with him in the Anguttara Nikaya.[101]

An inclusion of significance in the *BBH* which will be taken up in detail in chapter five is the repeated reference to the importance of the bodhisattva's study and application of the (un-named) texts of the so-called "five sciences" (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*). These sciences are grammar (*śabdavidyā*), logic (*hetuvidyā*), medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*), arts and crafts (*śilpakarmavidyā*) and philosophy (*ādhyātmavidyā*).[102]

The foregoing description of the identifiable textual sources used in the *BBH* gives an indication of the range and diversity of materials involved in it. There is a great deal contained in the text, yet there are also certain concepts and ideas that one expects yet does not find. Given the fact that the *BBH* is a Mahāyāna text, and ostensibly a Yogācāra text as well, one would anticipate that considerable attention might be paid to

devotionalism or that it would highlight doctrine characteristic of the Yogācāra school. This is actually far from the case.

7. Cosmology and Devotionalism

There is, in fact, little attention paid to devotional matters in the *BBH* and there is virtually no attempt made to delineate or develop a cosmology. It is typical of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, from which the *BBH* has purportedy developed its matrix, that Buddhas and bodhisattvas of various ranks and calibres are mentioned and often set as the "center-pieces" of a text's narrative. This is not the case with the *BBH*. Nowhere is there a Buddha, bodhisattva or other Mahāyāna higher being referred to by name, whether as a character, narrator or interlocutor.

There are various descriptions of higher states of the "super-normal", including the powers attained through the training, as this is necessary for discussion of the stages of development of the bodhisattva.[103] Thus there is description of the bodhisattva levels (*bhūmi*) indicating many wonderous abilities and achievements of bodhisattva activity. However, though there are passing references to Buddha-fields and god-realms, these are rare and the concepts are presently briefly, abstractly, and with little or no description.[104]

Consequently, there has been no attempt made to produce, or reiterate, a Buddhist/bodhisattva cosmology as is found in a great number of Mahāyāna texts. Where one might expect to find mention of Amitābha, Mañjusrī, or Avalokiteśvara, *et*

al., there is none. Notable in its omission is any reference to Maitreya, the inspirational figure (indeed according to some traditions, the author!) reponsible for the text itself. Given the absence of such materials, the text cannot be conceived of as an attempt to explain or consolidate mythological aspects of Mahāyāna.

Mythology and cosmology are related in meaningful ways to devotionalism, and there is indeed a chapter in the *BBH* (Book I:xvi) which discusses worship (*pūjā*). However this too is narrowly restricted to devotional service in its most rudimentary form, namely toward the three refuges (*Tathāgata* Buddha, Dharma, Saṇgha). There is no embellishment of these rudiments, and no description of rituals of consecration or adoration that are intended to be studied and applied.[105]

Thus, one must conclude that though elements of devotionalism, both theoretical and practical, are present in the *BBH*, they are minimal as compared with the Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature in general and furthermore are not overtly or specifically Mahāyānist.[106]

8. The *BBH* as a "Mahāyāna Yogācāra" Work

Finally, there is an important issue that deserves attention which relates to the doctrinal position of the *BBH*. This issue involves the common ascription of the *BBH* as a "work of the Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna".[107] In view of what has been demonstrated about the *BBH* so far, one might question the extent to which either the ascription "Yogācāra" or "Mahāyāna" is fully accurate when describing the *BBH* text. The ascription of the term "Mahāyāna" will be considered first.

The *BBH* is obviously concerned with the course of bodhisattva development, which it calls by various names: the Mahāyāna, bodhisattvayāna, Buddhayāna, and *Tathāgata-yāna*.[108] Given the fact that the other volumes of the *Yogācārabhūmi* encyclopedia, and thus the bulk of it, are concerned with non-Mahāyāna doctrines, it is not unreasonable that the *BBH* has been described as a "Mahāyāna appendage to a Hīnayāna document". This is something of an over-simplification, however, and is not necessarily a fair or correct appraisal.

The contents of the *BBH* certainly indicate that even if a purely Mahāyāna position were intended, the sources used to uphold it are of a wide-ranging, often non-Mahāyāna character. The *YBH*'s exposition clearly retains a close connection with non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, as has been noted above. It should, therefore, not be surprising that the *BBH* section of the work shows this influence. Thus it appears that the *BBH* is more than just an appendage, but rather an integrated part of the *YBH*, maintaining a closeness with the encyclopedia as a whole through use of common terms and referents.

This integration, along with other aspects of the text that have been mentioned above, gives the impression of a broader "ecumenical" position being taken by the text that has not generally been acknowledged.[109] It also points to less of a division being made between "Hīnayāna" and "Mahāyāna" in the *BBH*, than between Buddhist and non-Buddhist ideas and practices in general.[110] The wealth of non-Mahāyāna influence both in content and structure of the *BBH* suggests a compromise with and/or acceptance of

Buddhists of all doctrinal persuasions. This will be taken up more fully in later discussion.

With respect to the assertion that the *BBH* is a work of the Yogācāra school, this ascription appears to rest largely on the title of the overall encyclopedia in which the *BBH* is found and on Asaṅga's association with the views of Vasubandhu and the Cittamātrin philosophical school. There is no reference in the *BBH* to, much less systematic argumentation based on, the Yogācāra position.[111]

There is also, somewhat surprisingly, no reference to specific meditation practices or Yoga exercises of any kind. This would have seemed an ideal place to include such practical aspects of bodhisattva discipline. There is also virtually no reference to any major Yogācāra categories, such as *ālayavijñāna*, *tathāgatagarbha*, *trikāya*, *trisvabhāva*, which one would expect to find if the Yogācāra or Cittamatra were being espoused or championed.[112]

There appears, on the contrary, to be every intention in the text to actually avoid school doctrines, staying strictly within common, essential and non-sectarian Buddhist philosophical views. If there is any pronounced emphasis on distinctive characteristics of Mahāyāna Buddhist epistemology, it is on the emptiness of self and object (*ātma-dharma- nairātmya*).[113] This is as much associated with the Madhyamika school as it is with the Yogācāra.

Another salient feature in the *BBH* is the inclusion of basic elements and descriptive models of thought generally associated with the Madhyamika, which are used

to propose and argue for a definitive understanding of "reality" (*tattva*). Thus the *BBH*, as has been shown by Willis in her analysis of the *tattvārtha* chapter, conforms more to the Madhyamika understanding of two truths than it does to any overt Yogācāra standpoint.[114] Even so, the Madhyamika, along with the Yogācāra are never mentioned by name, and the presentation of doctrines and "truths" appears to be at the most common level of generality.[115] Given these factors it may be concluded that the traditional ascriptions of the *BBH* need rethinking.

In this regard, it is also possible that the commonly-held view of Asaṅga as the founder or co-founder of the Yogācāra requires some re-thinking as well. While Asaṅga did indeed clarify and systematize elements that are associated with Yogācāra thought, these are now generally agreed to have existed before him, both in *sūtra* and *śāstra* form.[116] Likewise, the several works attributed to Asaṅga do not appear to be arguing for a distinctly Yogācāra view over and against Madhyamika or other propositions. Thus one is led to a more modest assertion that Asaṅga explained and systematized aspects of Yogācāra thought. It was after Asaṅga, beginning with Vasubandhu and particularly in the works of Dignaga and other later scholars, that one finds the fully developed argumentation based on Yogācāra doctrines.[117]

9. General Characterization

It is more the rule than the exception that few facts are known about the circumstances under which Buddhist texts have originated. This is particularly the case

with *sūtras* which are held to be the word of Buddha (*buddhavācana*), whether they are in the earlier or later (Mahāyāna) schools. Somewhat better in terms of discovering facts about their historical origins and early provenance are later texts like the *BBH* that have a school or doctrinal affiliation and a scholarly lineage emanating from them. Nonetheless, there are obvious difficulties in determining the exact environment in which a text, even of the *BBH*'s stature, was compiled and used.

As has been noted above, there is general agreement on the ascription of the *BBH* to the late 4th or early 5th century C.E., based on the date of its first translation into Chinese. There is less certainty, however, about the role that its reputed author, Ārya Asaṅga, played in the *BBH*'s composition. As has been noted, one cannot be certain whether the details of Asaṅga's life are fact or fiction. Erring on the side of caution, this would suggest that the *BBH* text itself, and its known history, are a better guide than Asaṅga's biographies to the context in which the *BBH* was composed and put to use.

The wide variety of source materials (cited or otherwise inferable) clearly indicates that the author was not only relying on a "bodhisattva scriptural collection" but also had access to a wide range of materials outside strictly Mahāyāna sources. Taking into account the fact that Asaṅga's work is a synthesis of materials, as well as "multi-purpose" in that it both codifies definitions and elaborates on practice, the question arises as to the purposes to which the text was put.

Based on what is known about the *BBH* and the other works attributed to Asaṅga, it is possible to offer some tentative propositions. Given the amount of detail in the *BBH*

and its *Śāstric* and *Abhidharmic* characteristics, it may be called a scholastic work. As evident as this may appear, the implications are important. The author or authors, however much they might have been inspired, guided or instructed by Maitreya or other visions, evidently had vast learning, as well as enormous intellectual and/or academic resources at hand in the compilation of the work.

One may conclude from this and from the high level of doctrinal discourse generally, that the *BBH* was likely written by monastics for monastic study and possibly also for lay persons of cultivated understanding, all of whom were individuals whose understanding was accompanied by commitment to the teachings and practices involved in the bodhisattva path.

Given the structure, format and amount of detail involved, the *BBH* presupposes an advanced level of knowledge, indicating that it was likely composed for higher level educational study. As it contains a complete summary and digest of the bodhisattva's course of study, the *BBH* may well have been designed as a manual for Mahāyāna "teachers-in-training".

The possibility also exists that the text was compiled as a reference manual for learned Mahāyāna initiators. Supporting this proposition is the fact that the morality chapter contains a fully-developed *pratimokṣa*, with initiation ritual and confessional, and a code of rules for observance used in the induction of "novices" onto the bodhisattva path. This code is, moreover, intended for both monastic and lay followers of the

Mahāyāna. This section of the *BBH* has circulated separately in India, China and Tibet as a self-contained unit, as noted by Tatz.[118]

In keeping with the higher educational environment suggested by these other factors, much of the *BBH* concerns itself specifically with the role of the bodhisattvas as both students and teachers. Discussion in several chapters is directed to educational issues such as gauging the personality traits and potentiality of students, and how to train and guide them. There are sections that outline the principles of learning and teaching and elements of general curricula, while others describe the protocol of student-teacher relations, and the tasks and reciprocal duties of each. It is these sections of the text that will provide material for discussion in subsequent chapters.

That the *BBH* is chiefly concerned with the guidance of individuals in the course of learning and training is evident from the main ordering principle of the text and its self-description as a course of study (*śikṣāmārga*):

> "the bodhisattva's course of study (as set forth in the *BBH*) is ... the basis for explaining all of the course of study of the bodhisattva, and all aspects of the results of the course of study."[119]

As one of the main intentions in the work is to "explain all of the bodhisattva's course of study", the *BBH*, thus understood, is primarily addressed to those Buddhists intent on pursuing the course of conduct and training which leads to the goal of Buddhahood and supreme enlightenment as expounded in the text.[120] The *BBH* may, therefore, also be conceived of as a personal training manual to be applied in a course of individual study. This designation applies particularly to the chapters on the

perfections (*pāramitā*), which are structured with examples which can be used by a student or teacher in reference to actual situations.

These different possibilities indicated by the *BBH* all point to its use as a text and reference book at a Buddhist institution of higher learning in which students and teachers pursued educational and personal development with specific emphasis on Mahāyāna Buddhist goals and principles. This proposition, derived from a general evaluation of the text itself, is also supported independently by the historical record, indeed by eyewitness accounts of the *BBH* as a subject of study in the very environment suggested by its structure and contents. This will be taken up in the following discussion of India's Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *BODHISATTVABHŪMI* AND NĀLANDĀ MAHĀVIHĀRA

The preceding description of the *BBH*'s style and contents has suggested that its systematic exposition of Mahāyāna doctrines, principles and practices was ideally suited for the instruction and training of a learned Buddhist audience. There is historical evidence confirming that the *BBH* was indeed used for such purposes, at Nālandā Mahāvihāra, an Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist monastic "university".[1] The following discussion outlines the historical background of Nālandā Mahāvihāra, describes its educational environment and explains the *BBH*'s role at that institution.

1. Origins of Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Nālandā Mahāvihāra was founded in the mid to late fifth century of the Common Era. It was the most renowned of the Buddhist *mahāvihāras* ("great dwelling places"), monastic complexes that represent the last major development in Indian Buddhism's institutional history. Fewer than ten *mahāvihāras* are known to have existed.[2]

Traditional accounts state that a succession of Buddhist monasteries, beginning in the time of the Buddha, was located on the eventual site of Nālandā Mahāvihāra.[3] Archaeological evidence shows that Nālandā Mahāvihāra itself was constructed and expanded under the patronage of the Gupta kings, from the fifth through sixth centuries.[4]

Nālandā was later patronized from the ninth through the eleventh centuries by the kings of the Pāla dynasty. The Pālas were the last monarchs of the medieval period known to have actively supported Buddhist institutions in India.[5] During the periods of Gupta and Pāla ascendency, Nālandā Mahāvihāra's enrolment may have risen to as high as 10,000 students, though 3,000 - 5,000 is the number generally accepted.[6]

After the Pāla period, successive waves of foreign invasions resulted in Nālandā Mahāvihāra gradually diminishing in size and eventually being destroyed.[7] The last account of Nālandā Mahāvihāra functioning as a Buddhist educational institution during the medieval period comes from the mid-thirteenth century.[8] Nāva Nālandā Mahāvihāra (New Nālandā), a modern name-sake established on the original site in 1951, exists today as a Buddhist Studies research center.[9]

2. Nālandā Mahāvihāra as a New Buddhist Institution

The Indian monastery went through a number of stages of development before the rise of Nālandā. Originally small collections of huts, shelters and even cave dwellings, there were also monasteries from an early period that had become complex establishments in terms of their size and variety of buildings.[10] Nonetheless, historians recognize that Nālandā Mahāvihāra was one of a new type of Buddhist monastic institution, particularly because of its educational practices.

Sukumar Dutt, noted for his research on Indian monasticism, calls Nālandā's educational environment an example of a "re-orientation of traditional monk-culture" towards a "liberalized [monastic] culture". Dutt describes the change in Nālandā's educational focus as follows:

> "The traditional learning of the monasteries had been at its beginning a cloistered pursuit -learning in canonical lore for the benefit and use of monkhood. But it was progressively liberalized - extended and enlarged in its scope and contents, and made available not to monks alone, but to all seekers after knowledge. It was a new development of monastic life and activity...."[11]

This era is, however, "an obscure chapter of Buddhist history" as Dutt puts it, and one that was affected by a "complex of conditions and circumstances" that are difficult to trace. Dutt alludes to, but does not isolate, the principal factors that make up this complex.[12]

General factors that had an effect on the emergence of the *mahāvihāra* are, however, discernible, though the degree of influence attributable to each can not be accurately assessed. These factors were: the general cosmopolitanism of the Gupta period; the development of brahminical scholarship; Buddhist parochialism; and the rise of Hindu devotionalism.[13]

The Gupta period (300-550) has been called a "Golden Age" in Indian history and it witnessed the culmination of cultural developments that had begun under preceding monarchies.[14] Literature, scholarship, architecture, trade, travel, music, arts, religious freedom all flourished in central India during the Gupta time.[15] The *mahāvihāra* developed in this climate of ecumenical, "enlightened" social relations. The *mahāvihāras*

were apparently the Buddhist "centers of excellence" in the cultural design of Gupta emperors who fostered and supported learning and scholarship.[16]

The Buddhist scholasticism evident in works like the *BBH*, the *Abhidharmakośa* and other *śāstra* writings of the period, was but one religion's contribution to a major scholastic movement in India that occurred between the first and sixth centuries. As the Buddhists were composing their works, so too were the scholars and philosophers in the brahminical traditions composing theirs.[17] Sanskrit language and classical learning had a revival during this period, with the formulation of the *Dharmaśāstras* and other *Smriti* collections as a result.[18] Buddhism was undoubtedly challenged by this movement to consolidate its own teachings and offer a comparable standard of learning.

The decentralized character of Indian Buddhism's overall institutional organization had equipped it with an ability to function in local environments without reference to a central authority. While an asset in its early history, this appears to have become a deficit in later generations in two major ways. As a minority religion which was a based on a centralized and separate living and learning establishment--the monastery--Buddhism fell victim more readily to physical attack and displacement by non-Buddhist groups. This depredation is evident in the period immediately prior to the rise of the Guptas.[19]

Additionally, because of the geographic separation and general self-containment of Buddhist communities, there was uneven development and dissemination of its philosophical ideas and community practices. The result was a proliferation of sectarian

divisions within Buddhism that compromised its ability to withstand non-Buddhist doctrinal challenges and threatened Buddhism's influence in society.[20]

Finally, brahminical scholastic and philosophical efflorescence was accompanied by the growth of Hindu religious cults.[21] This also would have challenged Buddhism to develop within its own traditions a more populist outlook that could compete with the multi-religious, polytheistic sentiments of the dominant culture around it.

These four external factors when taken together would have been powerful incentives for change and innovation in Buddhism. While the precise stages of a Buddhist response are impossible to discern, it is apparent Buddhists rose to the challenge with innovations of their own.

Firstly, there was the production of (new) Mahāyāna Buddhist *sūtras* with imaginative and sophisticated doctrines.[22] This was accompanied secondly by a corresponding growth in Buddhist devotionalism, particularly in the worship of a broad range of "celestial" bodhisattvas.[23]

Another notable factor was the scholastic trend toward systematizing Buddhist doctrine, producing materials that correspond to organized "schools" of tenets.[24] Finally the *mahāvihāras* were developed to serve as centers of Buddhist religious study that could both defend the faith and support themselves as communities. They also offered a Buddhist location for the study of subjects that were part of the cultural renaissance evident in the Gupta period.[25]

3. Ārya Asaṅga and Nālandā

Tradition connects Ārya Asaṅga with the founding period of Nālandā Mahāvihāra, stating that he lived out his final years there, away from the depleted condition of Buddhism in his native home of Peshawar.[26] If this is true -- and there is sufficient flexibility in the dates of Asaṅga's death and Nālandā's inception to allow it -- Asaṅga was one of the first of many major scholars associated with this great Mahāyāna Buddhist university.[27] Moreover, this would certainly have been an environment in which he could have composed and/or applied a treatise such as the *Yogācārabhūmi* and its Mahāyāna volume, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

It has already been noted that traditions about Asaṅga's life are questionable, however, and there is no reference in the *BBH* to Nālandā or any other monastery. There is also no conclusive evidence from any source to connect the *BBH* with Nālandā in Asaṅga's lifetime. Thus there is little basis to argue that Asaṅga composed the *BBH* at Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

Though an early connection between the *BBH* and Nālandā cannot be proven either from accounts about Asaṅga or from the text itself, evidence from other sources does establish a historical connection between the *BBH* and Nālandā Mahāvihāra in later years. Fortunately there is direct evidence from two hundred years after Asaṅga's death and Nālandā's founding that shows the *BBH* to have been a text used there. The same sources show that the principles espoused and the subjects discussed in the *BBH* were part of the discipline and course of studies at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

4. The Pilgrim Travellers' Accounts and Nālandā

There are some archaeological remains and inscriptions that can assist in reconstructing a sketch of the life and studies at Nālandā Mahāvihāra, but the most useful information is found in the accounts of foreign scholars who visited Nālandā in the course of its history. Nālandā became famous throughout Asia as a center for Buddhist studies and attracted many so-called "pilgrim travellers" from China, Tibet, and other lands. These visitors' names are not evident in Indian records and inscriptions and only a scant few of those whose names appear in the religious histories of China and Tibet left accounts that can be used by historians interested in Indian Buddhism and Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

While general descriptions of Buddhism in India and the surrounding lands are found in accounts by Fa Hsien, Sung Yun, Hui Sheng and Hye Cho,[28] it is in the accounts of the seventh century Chinese visitors Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing that the best information about Nālandā Mahāvihāra appears.[29]

Hsüan-Tsang's is the more famous of these two student scholars due to his prolific writing and translation of Buddhist texts.[30] Hsüan-Tsang became well-versed in the *Yogācārabhūmi* collection during his lifetime and made special efforts to learn it in his travels. When he returned to China, he was personally responsible for establishing the Fa Hsiang school, based on the Cittamātra doctrine attributed to Vasubandhu and Asaṅga.[31]

The records of Hsüan-Tsang's trip to India, which began in 629 and ended with his return to China in 645, are found in three separate accounts: one written by Hsüan-Tsang himself for the Chinese emperor-patron who sponsored his trip to the "Land of the Buddha", and two accounts dictated by him to interested students in China.[32]

I-Tsing, though less famous than Hsüan-Tsang, was nonetheless a learned and well-travelled Chinese Buddhist monk, who left an account of two trips abroad between 673 and 695 that are contained in a single record, written while in Sumatra.[33]

Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing came to India to study Buddhist doctrine and lived at Nālandā Mahāvihāra for five years and ten years respectively. I-Tsing was primarily concerned with learning monastic discipline (*Vinaya*) and his account is largely preoccupied with recording the monk's daily life and conduct in order to establish the proper manner of "living according to the rules". [34]

Though Hsüan-Tsang was also concerned with the *Vinaya*, he had broader interests, particularly in the field of Mahāyāna philosophy. Hsüan-Tsang became a well-trained linguist and accomplished scholar of Buddhism while in India, as is evident from the massive collection of Sanskrit Buddhist texts that he mastered and brought back, many of which he later translated or commented on.[35]

More difficult to confirm are Hsüan-Tsang's claims that while in India he became renowned as a great debater and champion of the Mahāyāna, though certainly in China his prowess in these areas is noted.[36] In any case, Hsüan-Tsang's and I-Tsing's records

provide eye-witness accounts of Nālandā during a major period of its ascendancy and therefore qualify as the most valuable sources of their kind.

Discussion of general features of life at Nālandā Mahāvihāra will be taken up shortly. Consideration will be given at this juncture to the importance that the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* had for these men, particularly for Hsüan-Tsang.

5. The *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing

As was noted in chapter one, the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* encyclopedia, containing the *Bodhisattvabhumi*, was first brought to China in the early fifth century. It was translated and re-translated several times by the seventh century.[37] The *YBH*, together with its commentaries, had already become a large corpus of scripture in its own right by the time Hsüan-Tsang became a monk in 630.[38] Hsüan-Tsang studied the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *śāstras* extensively in China and it is evident from the subsequent details in his accounts that he was a confirmed Mahayanist. In travelling to India, it is apparent from his records that he was particularly keen on the study of the *YBH* and the Mahāyāna.

Hsüan-Tsang's biography, dictated to his student disciple Hui Li, refers in over a dozen passages to seeking and/or receiving instruction in the *YBH*. In some instances the full Chinese name "*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*" is used, in others it is abbreviated to "*Yogabhūmiśāstra*", "*Yogaśāstra*" and even simply "*Yoga*".[39] Further to this, Hsüan-

Tsang refers in two places to seeking instruction on a later commentary on the *YBH* by Jīnaputra which is entitled *Yogācārabhūmiśāstrakārika*.[40]

Three passages from Hsüan-Tsang's biography will serve to illustrate the importance of the *YBH* to him. The first is Hsüan-Tsang's account of his earliest meeting with an (ostensibly) accomplished Indian-trained Buddhist master. This occurred after Hsüan-Tsang had completed about half of his long overland journey to India. The master's name was Mokṣagupta and he was apparently of the Hīnayāna tradition. When Hsüan-Tsang enquired which Buddhist texts were prominent in the area where Mokṣagupta was presently living in cental Asia, the following discussion ensued:

> "(Mokṣagupta) addressing the Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) said 'In this land we have the *Samyuktābhidharma*, the *Kośa*, the *Vibhaṣa* and
>
> other *sūtras*, you can gain sufficient knowledge by studying these here without travelling further..'
>
> The Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) replied; 'And have you here the *Yoga-Śāstra* or not?'
>
> He (Mokṣagupta) answered: 'What need ask about such a heretical book as that? The true disciple of Buddha does not study such a work!'
>
> The Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) who was at first filled with reverence for the person (of Mokṣagupta), on hearing this reply regarded him as dirt and answering said:
>
> 'In our country we too have long had the *Vibhaṣa* and the *Kośa*; but I have been sorry to observe their logic superficial and their language weak: they do not speak of the highest perfection.
>
> On this account I have come so far as this, desiring to be instructed in the *Yoga Śāstra* belonging to the Great Vehicle. And the *Yoga*, what is it but the revelation of Maitreya, the bodhisattva next to become Buddha? To

> call such a book heretical, how is it that you are not afraid of the bottomless pit (of hell) ?' " [41]

As the encounter between Hsüan-Tsang and Mokṣagupta proceeded, the latter proved to be poorly equipped even in the texts that he professed to know and Hsüan-Tsang bested him in discussion before carrying on westward in his quest.

This passage, especially as it occurs early on in the account, suggests that Hsüan-Tsang set out for India with the express purpose of studying the *Yogā(cārabhūmi)śāstra*. This is corroborated in other passages of Hui Li's account. A second and equally instructive passage involves an anecdote about Hsüan-Tsang almost losing his life.

While travelling with fellow Buddhists in Northern India en route to Nālandā, Hsüan-Tsang, when crossing the Ganges, was captured by river pirates who were worshippers of the goddess Durgā.[42] The pirates found Hsüan-Tsang to be a "suitable candidate for sacrifice" and were determined to sacrifice him to Durgā despite his companions' pleading. As the pirates were binding him and preparing an altar for the sacrifice, Hsüan-Tsang readied himself for his imminent death in the following manner:

> "Then the Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) with an undivided mind bent on the courts of Tusita heaven, thought on the Bodhisattva Maitreya and earnestly prayed to be born in that place, that he might pay reverence and his religious offerings (to the bodhisattva) and receive from him the *Yogācāriyabhūmiśāstra* and listen to the sound of the excellent Law.
>
> Then having perfected himself throughout in wisdom, (he prayed) 'let me return and be born here below, that I may instruct and convert these men and cause them to practise themselves in doing good and to give up their evil deeds and thus by diffusing far and wide, the benefits of religion, to give rest to all the world.' "[43]

Hsüan-Tsang proceeded thereafter to meditate on the glories of Maitreya's heavenly realm and as he did so a storm suddenly came up, "smiting down trees, with clouds of sand on every side and the waves of the river tossing the boats to and fro."[44] On seeing all this, the pirates became afraid; after they had repented and promised to mend their ways, the storm subsided and Hsüan-Tsang was released.

One may doubt any connection between Hsüan-Tsang's meditations and the storm that saved him, but there is little doubt as to the importance of the *YBH* to him, foremost in his thoughts and prayers at this crucial juncture of his life.

Finally, it was at Nālandā Mahāvihāra that Hsüan-Tsang found the instruction in the *YBH* that he was seeking. On his arrival at Nālandā for the first time, he was taken with other monks to the Mahāyāna master Śīlabhadra, renowned for his knowledge in the *YBH* and known by the epithet "Treasure of the Good Law". The following event occurred on their meeting:

> "The usual greetings and compliments being finished, the Treasure of the Law (Śīlabhadra) ordered seats to be brought and spread out, and desired the Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) and the rest to be seated.
>
> When seated, he asked the Master of the Law (Hsüan-Tsang) from what part he came; in reply he said:
>
> 'I come from the country of China, desiring to learn your instruction in the principles of the *Yogaśāstra*.'"[45]

Śīlabhadra, moved to tears at Hsüan-Tsang's words, thereupon called his nephew Buddhabhadra to address the assembled monks. Buddhabhadra then recounted that three

years previously Śīlabhadra had been at death's door with an attack of colic when Maitreya came to him in a vision. Maitreya told Śīlabhadra that he would help him recover because there would come "a priest of the country of China who delights in examining the great Law and is desirous to study with you."[46]

Śīlabhadra thereafter recovered from his attack and had lived to see this fulfilment of the miraculous foretelling of Hsüan-Tsang's arrival at Nālandā three year later. Masters and students were astounded at this story and welcomed Hsüan-Tsang into their midst. Hsüan-Tsang requested the honour of studying with Śīlabhadra and was accepted as his student.[47]

Once again, though one may question the miraculous embellishment in this story, it is evident that the *YBH* held a special place in Hsüan-Tsang's mind and that Nālandā was the place where he felt destined to study it. It is stated elsewhere in his biography that Hsüan-Tsang, during his three years at Nālandā, heard Śīlabhadra discourse on the (entire) *YBH* three times, at least once in the company of "many thousands of listeners".[48] Hsüan-Tsang also sought instruction in the *YBH* in other parts of India, but it was at Nālandā that it was taught regularly and thoroughly.

I-Tsing is far less effusive and dramatic about the role of the *YBH* in his life, but indicates nonetheless the importance of the *YBH* at Nālandā. It is recorded that I-Tsing studied the works of Asaṅga in China and that he went to India to "meet Maitreya and study the true doctrine".[49] While in India, I-Tsing engaged in a variety of Buddhist

studies and mentions the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* only once by name, though he refers to Asaṅga and Yogācāra doctrine in other places.

The passage where the *YBH* is mentioned, however, is informative. After discussing the necessity of being mentally prepared and personally committed to the proper observance of *Vinaya* in order to proceed with Buddhist studies, I Tsing states as follows:

> "If a man's mind (then) be set on the priesthood, he should demand to be shaved, wear the coloured cloak, purify his thoughts and make the "final liberation" his aim. He should observe the five and then the ten precepts without fail. He who vowed to observe all the precepts with a perfect mind should practise them in accordance with the *Vinaya* texts.
>
> After having learnt the *Yogācāryaśāstra*, he ought to then study thoroughly Asaṅga's eight *śāstras* [thereafter listed]...if he wishes to distinguish himself in the study of logic he should thoroughly understand Jina(putra's) eight *śāstras*..[etc.]"[50]

This passage suggests that the *YBH* was a textual compilation that was to be studied early on in the course of instruction at Nālandā, along with the *Vinaya* disciplines that governed one's conduct in the community. Having learned the *YBH*, one could then go on to study other works.

Taken together, Hsüan-Tsang's and I-Tsing's accounts establish the critical role that the *YBH*, and therewith the *BBH*, played in their lives as Buddhist monastic scholars. While the *BBH* was clearly not the only Mahāyāna compilation studied, it was one of the foremost at Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

6. The Social Environment of Nālandā Mahāvihāra

Nālandā Mahāvihāra was a state-supported institution, endowed by the ruling monarch with a share of revenues from local villages.[51] Royal patronage of religious institutions was a common practice in India and support of royal benefactors was actively sought. Hsüan-Tsang reports on the general pattern of expenditure of royal revenues:

> "The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated."[52]

The latter two categories of funds, those available for men of distinguished ability and for sponsorship of religious bodies, were the main source of revenues available to Nālandā. The ability of the masters to defeat opponents in debate was one of the primary means to receive royal patronage. I-Tsing tells how the fame of "eminent and accomplished men" who refute their opponents in debate spreads far and wide and thus "receive grants of land and are advanced to high rank".[53]

The prowess of religious champions and its importance in monastic support is confirmed by Hsüan-Tsang in an account of his own teacher Śīlabhadra. When Śīlabhadra was 30 years of age, his teacher Buddhabhadra was challenged to debate by a "proud and envious" brahmin who came to Magadha. Śīlabhadra requested permission to take up the brahmin's challenge and it was granted. The following report of the event is given:

"On the day of discussion the people came together from far and near; both old and young in numbers assembled. Then the heretical teacher on his part laid open his case with great emphasis... Śīlabhadra followed his arguments and refuted them by profound and subtle allegations. The heretic, his words being exhausted, was covered with shame and retired."[54]

The king, who was either a witness to this event or had it reported to him, wished to acknowledge Śīlabhadra's victory by offering him the royal revenues of the town where the debate took place. Śīlabhadra at first declined saying that "a master who wears the garments of religion knows how to be contented with little and to keep himself pure. What would I do with a town?".[55] The king urged him to accept, suggesting that he use the revenues to build and fund a monastery (*saṅghārama*). The account ends with the following:

"[Śīlabhadra], not persisting in his refusal, accepted the town and built this vast and magnificent *saṅghārama* [being described by Hsüan-Tsang] and endowed it with revenues of the town as a means of providing it with the offerings necessary for religious service."[56]

Hsüan-Tsang's accounts are replete with stories about debates of this kind which seem to have taken place regularly.[57] On occasion the Mahāvihāra would be granted pieces of land for its use, afer which it had the responsibility to cultivate them. The farm work was done by persons hired for the purpose. I-Tsing explains that those who did the work were to be paid by the monastery as was written in the *Vinaya* rules:

"according to the teaching of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the Sangha (monastic community) a share of the products is to be given to the monastic servants or some other families by whom the actual tilling has been done." [58]

In order to keep support once it had been given, the Mahāvihāra relied not only on the continued ability of its masters to defeat opponents in debate, but also on the moral reputation of the monks. It is evident from the travellers' accounts that Nālandā Mahāvihāra was one of the most well-endowed. I-Tsing makes a direct connection between the monks' reputations and the particularly high level of support which Nālandā received, in the following comment:

"The rites [i.e., *Vinaya* observance] of the Nālandā monastery are still more strict [than at Tamralipti]. Consequently the number of the residents is great and exceeds 3,000. The lands in it possession contain more than 200 villages.

They have been bestowed (upon the monastery) by kings of many generations. Thus the prosperity of the religion continues ever, owing to nothing but (the fact that) the *Vinaya* (is strictly being carried out.)"[59]

Hsüan-Tsang describes how every day the householders of the neighbouring villages contributed rice, butter and milk to the Mahāvihāra such that the members of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra are "abundantly supplied and do not require to ask for the four requisites."[60]

7. The Student Body and Its Activities of Nālandā

The student body at Nālandā Mahāvihāra consisted of monks and laymen. Women did not study at the institution.[61] Students came from around India and abroad, as well as from the local villages, to attend Nālandā. Depending on the nature of their educational needs they might stay there for days, months or years. Admission to the

Mahāvihāra for Buddhist religious studies was achieved by passing a rigorous entrance examination on arrival. Hsüan-Tsang explains that gaining admission to Nālandā required considerable knowledge:

"If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply old and new (books) before getting admission"[62]

Hsüan-Tsang further records that after an applicant gained admission, he worked very diligently to keep his place.[63]

Learning at Nālandā was conducted in small group tutorials, as well as in large lecture format. The learning environment was intense and energetic. The standards of learning and expectations of the teachers were high. Hsüan-Tsang's description captures the atmosphere of an institution where students were sincerely dedicated to their education:

"In the establishment were some thousands of Brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous. The brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their Order; they were looked up to as models by all India.

Learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping [each other] to perfection." [64]

Hsüan-Tsang describes the small group learning format as follows:

"Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching and the students attend these discourses without any fail, even for a minute."[65]

The level of knowledge amongst the Buddhist masters was impressive, as might be expected from a *mahāvihāra* with Nālandā's renown. Hsüan-Tsang's estimation of it was as follows:

"[Nālandā] has 1000 men who can explain twenty collections of *sūtras* and *śāstras*; 500 who can explain thirty collections and perhaps ten men, including the master of the Law [Hsüan-Tsang] who can explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number."[66]

In addition to the monks, there were two kinds of lay students, those who had come for religious training to become renunciates and monks, and those who had come for training in secular subjects, both of which were taught by monks. I-Tsing gives a brief description of the two non-renunciate categories:

" Those white-robed (laymen) who come to the residence of a priest, and read chiefly Buddhist scriptures with the intention that they may one day become tonsured and black-robed, are called "children" (*manāva*).

Those who (coming to a priest) want to learn secular literature only, without having any intention of quitting the world are called students (*brahmacārin*)."[67]

I-Tsing notes further that the monks were frequently engaged in teaching non-Buddhist subjects and states: "there are many students who are entrusted to the bhikkhus and instructed by them in secular literature." [68]

These two groups of students had to live at their own expense in the Mahāvihāra for it was not permitted to feed the non-ordained from the Mahāvihāra's permanent stores.[69] The students would earn their way by serving their teachers, working for the

monastery, or live on the gifts of patrons who specified when the gifts were specifically for the student member(s).[70]

It was also the case that a lay devotee who had become a monk might revert to lay status once again of his own accord.[71] He did not suffer any penalty, nor was he excluded from the community on this account. Such individuals were still permitted and encouraged to carry on "promoting the true religion" and attended the monastery for instruction.[72]

This unique learning environment was one that had not previously existed in Buddhist monastic institutions and was a change from previous, traditionally conservative, norms.

8. The Educational Functions of Nālandā

The foregoing discussion establishes that Nālandā Mahāvihāra functioned in three principal ways to serve its own Buddhist community and society at large. It was a centre of Buddhist religious authority, a Buddhist religious training institution and an institution for general education. Each of these functions emphasised the importance of learning, and the monk-scholar was the central figure involved.

As the presence of Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing at Nālandā indicates, the Mahāvihāra was noted for scholarly excellence, and its learned monks served as consultants for visitors from Buddhist saṅghas in India and abroad.[73] Buddhist teachers therefore came from far and wide to settle doubts on doctrinal issues by consulting with masters at

Nālandā.[74] Visiting Buddhists received assistance with their queries and returned home equipped to define and defend doctrines, and assert views and propositions authoritatively.

In this connection, Nālandā also offered the services of skilled masters who could be requested to answer challenges from other Buddhist or non-Buddhist groups. The masters of the institution were prepared through their extensive study and training to go out and engage in debate, as the travellers' accounts vividly describe. It was also the case that challengers came to the Mahāvihāra itself and sessions were arranged to settle doctrinal issues.[75]

Secondly, Nālandā Mahāvihāra offered long term training for Buddhist scholars and teachers to serve either at Nālandā or to service communities in India and abroad. Students at Nālandā received training in instructional techniques and pastoral care, learning how to present and explain teachings and satisfy the various needs of their congregations.[76] Individuals who had attended and/or graduated from Nālandā were treated with great respect in the Buddhist world.[77]

A distinguishing feature of Nālandā training was its breadth. Emphasis was placed on learning the views of the many Buddhist schools, each in its own right, and learning them completely. As Nālandā was a Mahāyāna institution, the particular religious emphasis was naturally placed on learning the Mahāyāna views and practices.

In addition to Buddhist religious studies, Nālandā taught the religious philosophies of non-Buddhist traditions as well. Such study was intended to equip the Buddhist

teacher and scholar with knowledge of other (non-Buddhist) systems in order to understand their religious and philosophical positions and address them intelligently. This knowledge was largely intended to equip the Buddhist scholar for debate in defense of Buddhist propositions.[78] It was also studied to familiarize Buddhists with potential sources of doctrinal ideas that might make an intrusion into Buddhist teachings, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

Nālandā also offered training in non-religious (secular) subjects. Some of these subject areas were required for the more extensive training of Buddhist teachers and scholars that Nālandā undertook. Sanskrit grammar, composition, and other literary arts were needed to properly study the Buddhist scriptures. These same skills were also applicable to secular or non-Buddhist subjects and together with the study of logic and reasoning were used to develop the general intellectual acumen needed for administration, government and commerce. Such general education was offered knowingly and willingly to students who did not have religious careers in mind.

Finally, textual studies in medicine and arts and crafts were the areas in which education was also possible at Nālandā. As with the basic education in language and logic, medicine and the applied arts were subjects deemed less important to the Buddhist scholar than the "higher studies" of philosophy. Nonetheless, the teaching of literary skills, logic, as well as medicine and applied arts was considered to be appropriate for any student - even an otherwise religiously inclined Buddhist monk - as it equipped him with a variety of means of engaging in an appropriate livelihood in the world at large

when it was necessary. The specific features of this curriculum will be taken up in chapter five.

Despite the diversity of subjects taught and innovative character of Nālandā, it was nonetheless a Mahāyāna Buddhist institution that was primarily concerned with the training of its religious adherents. Discussion will now turn to the Mahāyāna Buddhist viewpoint as set forth in the *BBH*, and explore the fundamental intellectual framework in which the educational endeavours of the bodhisattva aspirant would have found their place. Part Two following will therefore leave behind the historical considerations of both the *BBH* and Nālandā Mahāvihāra to look more closely at the *BBH* text.

PART II

MAHĀYĀNA DOCTRINE

AND

THE BODHISATTVA PATH OF PRACTICE

CHAPTER THREE

BODHISATTVA *SADDHARMA*

AND THE PROBLEM OF "SEMBLANCES"

Part One, chapter one, of this study drew attention to the fact that the *BBH*, though rightly considered to be one of Mahāyāna Buddhism's major compendia of doctrine, nevertheless contains materials from non-Mahāyāna Buddhist sources. In some respects this reflects the *BBH*'s general integration into the *YBH Abhidharma* encyclopedia, which addresses Buddhist doctrine as a whole, going well beyond strictly Mahāyāna bounds. The contents and discourse of the *BBH* also represent non-Mahāyāna Buddhist positions in their own right. Rather than presenting these as contradictory statements of "truth", the *BBH* systematizes and orders them in complementary doctrinal positions.

The *BBH*, furthermore, omits any reference to specific Buddhist schools, or to any disputes or contests that may have coloured relations between them. Thus there appears to be a conscious attempt in the *BBH* to develop an inclusivist and accepting attitude towards Buddhist ideas, which lends an ecumenical quality to its presentation as a whole. There is another obvious purpose of the presentation, namely, to demonstrate the superiority of the Mahāyāna, but this is not done by rejecting other Buddhist views.

This Buddhist ecumenism and inclusivism does not extend to non-Buddhist religious doctrinal views, however, as will become clear though the following discussion. The *BBH* is very much a Buddhist text and its presentation emphasises the pre-eminence of the Buddha's word, in any of its forms, over non-Buddhist positions. There is room, nonetheless, for the study of such positions, and also for learning other subjects that, at face value, appear to have little to do Buddhist religious education. The nature of these subjects, and the reasons expressed by the text for taking them up, will be examined in chapter five.

At the present juncture, the basic doctrinal parameters of the *BBH*'s discourse will be presented. The *BBH* exhibits educational diversity within a context that is already open to innovation by virtue of its general doctrinal stance. At the same time, this stance establishes a pattern, and guide-lines, that also reveal ways in which the *BBH* remains conservative.

1. The Framework of Mahāyāna Discourse

The *BBH*'s general educational parameters are eminently clear, and can be simply stated. The chief objective of the *BBH* is to formulate and maintain a consistent portrayal of the bodhisattva's development that is suitable for study and emulation. The portrayal is complex and expansive, however, as it involves creating a model of nascent Buddhahood and plotting the lengthy processes that will eventually bear fruit in such grand qualities as omniscience and omnipotence. The *BBH* contextualizes its objectives

initially by establishing relationships and priorities amongst other Buddhist religious positions and goals.

The *BBH* delineates its basic framework through the use of terms and concepts that serve as recurrent markers throughout the text, to remind the reader/listener of the distinctiveness of the bodhisattva's being and purpose. One conception that the *BBH* creates towards this end is the idea of the "true teaching of the bodhisattva" (*bodhisattva-saddharma*), which is aligned and identified with the "great vehicle" (*Mahāyāna*), one of three possible Buddhist vehicles (*yāna*).

The Mahāyāna, moreover, conducts the member of the bodhisattva lineage (*bodhisattvagotra*) to the attainment of supreme enlightenment and *Tathāgata*-Buddhahood, a goal that is not attainable by those who belong to the two other Buddhist lineages (*gotra*) of the disciples (*śrāvaka*) and solitary Buddhas (*pratyekabuddha*).[1] The details that give precision to the bodhisattva's development are all embodied in the main conception of the *BBH*, which is its unique formulation of a bodhisattva path of practice (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*).

These concepts -- *saddharma*, *yāna*, *gotra*, and *mārga* -- are used regularly in the *BBH* as its bodhisattva ideal is outlined and developed. The concepts are complementary, representing progressively subtler terms of definition that establish the text first and foremost as Buddhist, then Mahāyānist, and finally as a special formulation that applies to a practising bodhisattva aspirant. The investigation of the concepts

saddharma, *yāna* and *gotra* are the subject of the present chapter; the *bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*, and particularly its novice level, will receive consideration in chapter four.

2. *Saddharma* in the *BBH*

Saddharma (*Pali*: *saddhamma*) is an ancient Buddhist term, appearing in the earliest layers of Buddhist literature.[2] It is a combination of two words: *sat*, signifying reality, truth, actuality; and *dharma* (*Pali*: *dhamma*), signifying teaching, doctrine, practice. *Saddharma* can be translated in various ways, e.g., "true teaching", "real doctrine", "actual practice".[3]

The origin of the term *saddharma* is attributed to early Buddhists who wished to differentiate their teachings (*dharma*) from teachings (*dharma*-s) of non-Buddhists.[4] In its original and most elemental form, the assertion in a Buddhist text that it teaches the *saddharma* is an assurance to its audience that the doctrine it espouses is a "true" Buddhist path leading to liberation (*nirvāṇa*).[5] The term *saddharma* can therefore be employed legitimately by any Buddhist school, or text, to emphasise its essentially Buddhist character. It is also used as a means of highlighting the particular formulation of Buddhist doctrine found in a school or text.[6]

The term *saddharma* appears in the *BBH* in over a dozen passages. One of its principal applications is to underline the pre-eminence of the Buddhist teachings, which are more generally referred to in the *BBH* simply as *dharma*.[7] In addition to being used to emphasise the distinction between Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings, *saddharma*

is also employed to emphasise the *BBH*'s particular formulation of Mahāyāna bodhisattva doctrine, which the *BBH* calls the "true teaching of a bodhisattva" (*bodhisattva-saddharma*).[8]

3. *Saddharma* and *Asaddharma*

"True teaching" (*saddharma*) occurs on several occasions in the *BBH* to contrast Buddhist teachings with non-Buddhist doctrines deemed "false teachings" (*asaddharma*). These teachings are not identified by any particular school's name; rather, they are distinguished as a class, by their lack of efficacy in attaining final liberation (*nirvāṇa*). Thus they are understood to be false (*asad*), i.e., non-Buddhist, in accordance with the early use of the term *saddharma*.[9]

The inability of false teachings to lead to final liberation is expressed technically in its lack of capacity to remove the basic afflictions (*kleśa*) of ignorance (*moha*), desire (*raga*) and aversion (*dveśa*), and other afflictions that stem from these.[10] The *BBH* is in accord with general Buddhist views when it asserts that there can be no final liberation without the removal of such afflictions. The *BBH* states, moreover, that it is only Buddhist teaching that can affect the removal of the afflictions.

Not only do false teachings not remove afflictions, they are actually contributing causes to the perpetuation of such afflictions. The net effect of learning false teachings is that one continues to be reborn in unfortunate lives and circumstances. The *BBH* speaks of the wrong views of such teachings, and ill deeds that arise as a result of them,

as "seeds" that contribute to the rise and continuance of afflictions. False teachings do not teach right views and proper deeds, and are therefore one of the factors that contribute to ongoing "afflictive rebirth":

> "Those (false teachings) are seeds which produce and originate things like [the afflictions of] ignorance, etc., in the present life, and are the projective causes of birth, aging and death (in future lives).
>
> Reliance on one who is a false person (*asadpuruṣa*), listening to false teaching (*asaddharma*), incorrect attention and prior habituations, are the assisting causes for the occurrence of ignorance, etc." [11]

Asaddharma in the foregoing passages indicates non-Buddhist teachings in the most general sense, and a false person (*asadpuruṣa*) is anyone who advocates doctrines that are considered to increase or perpetuate afflictions.

It is held universally in Buddhism that authentic ways of removing manifest affliction require that a Buddha appear in the world and teach them, and the *BBH* is no exception to this rule. The *BBH* stipulates, moreover, that a person must belong to one of three Buddhist "lineages" (*gotra*) in order to benefit from *saddharma*.

The absence of a Buddha's teaching, not belonging to one of the lineages, and not being in circumstances that permit the study of Buddhist teachings, when coupled with encountering false teachers and false teachings, all become "obstructive causes to purification" (i.e., removal of afflictions):

> "Lack of lineage, non-occurrence of a Buddha, births in the anguished realms, reliance on who is not a true person, listening to what is not true teaching, incorrect attention and wrong accomplishment are obstructive causes."[12]

The same idea is expressed conversely in the description of what impedes and removes the afflictions. From this point of view, the presence of lineage, Buddha, etc. become factors that in themselves obstruct such afflictions:

> "the obstructive causes of such manifest affliction (as ignorance, etc.) are endowment with lineage, the occurrence of a Buddha, the teaching of true teaching (*saddharma*), reliance on a true person, (*sadpuruṣa*) listening to true teaching (*saddharma*), correct attention, accomplishing in accordance with the teaching and all the factors oriented toward enlightenment."[13]

In this particular case, the true teaching and true person are those which block or obstruct the arising of afflictions. The *saddharma* in this instance is any teaching which is formulated and propagated by a Buddha, and is therefore correctly stated and truly "liberative". It is also doctrine that takes effect only when it is properly attended to and followed correctly.

4. Benefits of *Saddharma*

The *BBH* speaks of five great benefits that result when the *saddharma* is taught by Buddhas and bodhisattvas. These are expressed in terms of special states of attainment ranging from becoming established as a beginner on the Buddhist path to consolidating the high levels of realization of an advanced practitioner. Each is an aspect involving some form of realization, described in the *BBH* as follows:

> "These five are considered to be the Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' vast resultant benefits of teaching dharma to beings. What are the five?:
>
> When he teaches the true teaching (*saddharma*) some beings cleanse and purify their dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣu*) of taints with respect to things.

> Some beings attain cessation of contamination when he teaches true teaching (*saddharma*).
>
> Some beings produce aspiration for peerless, real, perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).
>
> Some beings obtain the bodhisattva's supreme patience at the moment of hearing true teaching (*saddharma*).
>
> And due to the teaching of true teaching (*saddharma*) by Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the true teaching (*saddharma*) will be maintained for a long time through a tradition of instruction, study, and accomplishment.
>
> These are the vast resultant benefits of teaching."[14]

This passage is noteworthy because it uses the term *saddharma* to include two distinct Buddhist paths: that of the arhat and that of the bodhisattva.[15] The reference to cleansing of the *dharma*-eye indicates "conversion" to Buddhism and entrance into its views and practices.[16] The attainment of the cessation of contamination indicates arrival at the state of arhatship, the final condition prior to full liberation of the *śrāvaka*.[17] These two are the beginning and completion of a Buddhist path that does not involve aspiration for, or attainment of, *Tathāgata* Buddhahood.

In contrast to this, producing "aspiration for peerless enlightenment" is the first requisite of entering into the bodhisattva path, while extreme patience is the so-called condition of "irreversibility", which includes the assurance at an advanced stage of bodhisattva practice that *Tathāgata*-Buddhahood will be achieved.[18]

This use of *saddharma* demonstrates one way that the *BBH* acknowledges Buddhism to be comprised of different paths and doctrines and includes them in a unified

whole. The Buddhas and bodhisattvas, moreover, are able to teach in such a way as to contribute to the continuance of both unity and diversity of Buddhist "truths". This activity is interactive, however, as the text notes that continuance of the Buddhist teachings can be accomplished only if there is instruction, study and accomplishment by its followers.

5. *Saddharma* and the Enlightenment Aspiration

The first reference to *saddharma* in the *BBH* is *BBH* I:ii, in a section that explains the four conditions for producing the "aspiration for enlightenment" (*bodhicittotpāda*). The context for the introduction of the term *saddharma* is clearly Mahayanist, as it pertains to the conditions under which a "nobly born son or daughter of the lineage" first aspires to complete enlightenment, signifying that he or she aspires to become a *Tathāgata* Buddha.[19]

The first condition that can provide an impetus for this aspiration involves seeing, or hearing about, the miraculous deeds and great powers of *Tathāgatas* and bodhisattvas. The great capacities of these beings inspire in some individuals the desire to become like them, which qualifies as an initial production of the enlightenment aspiration.[20]

The second condition for producing the aspiration for enlightenment is stated as follows:

> "Or else, without having heard about or seen this (display of powers), he undertakes (to attain) complete and perfect enlightenment (*anuttara-samyaksambodhi*), listening to the true teaching (*saddharma*) from those

> who teach the (scriptural) basket of the bodhisattva (*bodhisattvapiṭaka*) and having heard them, has faith, and by this clear faith and influenced by hearing true teaching (*saddharma*), he has determination for *Tathāgata* gnosis (*Tathāgatajñāna*) and produces the aspiration to obtain the *Tathāgata*'s gnosis. This is the second condition for producing the aspiration."[21]

This passage contains factors connected with the more specific usage of *saddharma* in the *BBH*. It is through hearing teachings from the bodhisattva scriptures, i.e., the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, that faith in the Mahāyāna is produced. By hearing the Mahāyāna teachings and producing faith, one develops the determination to realize the condition, and attain to the knowledge of the highest being, a *Tathāgata*.

A third condition for producing the enlightenment aspiration introduces two other important factors in the understanding of *saddharma*, the element of applying the true teachings, and being an exemplar of the teaching for others. Thus the third condition is described as follows:

> "Or else, without hearing teachings, he sees those involved in the true teaching of the bodhisattva (*bodhisattva saddharma*) and having seen, thinks:
>
> 'These keepers of the bodhisattva's true teaching (*bodhisattva saddharma*) are removing the misery of innumerable beings. I too will quickly produce the aspiration (for enlightenment) for the purpose of maintaining the bodhisattva's true teaching (*bodhisattva saddharma*) for a long time, in order to remove the misery of those beings.'
>
> Influenced by taking hold of the true teachings (*saddharma*) in this way, he produces determination for *Tathāgata*'s gnosis (*tathāgatajñāna*) and the aspiration to obtain the *Tathāgata*'s gnosis. This is the third condition of producing the aspiration."[22]

The fourth and final situation for producing the aspiration for enlightenment is unique, in that it is provoked without any direct encounter with either accounts, or exponents of, the true teaching (*saddharma*). The aspiration is produced through seeing the realities of the "degenerate age", referred to in Part One, chapter one.

This reality is not described graphically in this particular passage; rather, it is outlined abstractly in terms of ten afflictions (*kleśa*) that the bodhisattva will see to be prevalent in the world at the time of the degenerate age. The condition that exists because of these afflictions will awaken the latent desire to help beings. The *BBH* describes the situation in the following passage:

> "Or else [the aspiration for enlightenment is produced] without seeing those involved in true teaching, (because the bodhisattva) sees at the end of the eon (*antayuge antakāle*) the mass of beings of that bad time (*antayugika sattva*) inflicted by the 10 related afflictions of severe delusion, ...shamelessness and lack of decency,...jealousy and selfishness, ...misery, ... ill discipline, ...affliction, ...evil activities, ...careless-ness, ...laziness, and severe faithlessness."[23]

These afflictions, when seen, provoke the bodhisattva to aspire to enlightenment, based on the desire to help afflicted beings. He will thereby also become a leader and a good example for others to emulate. The second part of the passage concludes with the following statement:

> " Having seen this [afflicted mass of humanity], (the bodhisattva) thinks:
>
> " the great degenerate age (*mahām batayam kaśayakāla*) has arrived. If in this afflicted time (*upakliṣṭe kāle*) it is hard even to meet one who has produced the inferior aspiration of even the disciples (*śrāvaka*) and solitary Buddhas (*pratyekabuddha*), what can be said of that of unexcelled complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*)?

I will quickly produce the aspiration [for complete enlightenment] and those others following after me will produce that aspiration also".

Thinking in this way at the end of the age (*antakāle*), influenced by the difficulty encountering such (enlightenment) aspiration, he generates determination for great enlightenment and produces the aspiration for great enlightenment."[24]

In the foregoing passage there is reference to the "inferior aspiration" of the disciples (*śrāvaka*) and the solitary buddhas (*pratyekabuddhas*), which is distinguished from the superior aspiration for enlightenment. The inferior aspiration is nevertheless one set on liberation (*nirvāṇa*) and therefore qualifies for inclusion in the general conception of *saddharma* already explained. The bodhisattva's aspiration is more precious, however, being even more rare and difficult to encounter in the degenerate age. To possess such a mentality carries with it the responsibility to show and apply it for others' benefit.

There is one other significant passage depicting *saddharma* in relation to the aspiration for enlightenment that reiterates the position noted earlier, that *saddharma* can only continue to thrive if it is properly studied. The strength of the bodhisattva's aspiration is stated to be directly related to the study and practice of the true teaching in its Mahāyāna form. It is asserted that it is "through training (in previous lives) in the virtuous factors of the Mahāyāna" and through "lengthy training in that true teaching in the present life", that strength is acquired for a bodhisattva's rapid production of the enlightenment aspiration.[25]

There is another noteworthy example of an expressly Mahāyāna use of the term *saddharma* which relates to the bodhisattva's commencement of activity leading to *Tathāgata*-Buddhahood and the actual stages of that training. The bodhisattva's aspiration to attain enlightenment to benefit others is confirmed by taking ten aspirational vows (*prāṇidhāna*) that focus and express the bodhisattva's intentions. The first six of these aspirational vows are in essence a gradual progression of stages that outline how the true teaching is to be taken up and practiced:

" The bodhisattva recognizes the (ten) great aspirations (*prāṇidhāna*): (The first is) the great aspiration to worship the master of the Teaching, the Teacher who is worthy of the highest gifts of living beings;

the second is to rightly grasp the true Teaching (*saddharma*) taught by him;

the third is to practice the true Teaching (*saddharma*) in due order;

the fourth is to practice the career of a Bodhisattva in conformity with that;

the fifth is to cause the maturation of living beings who are its vessel;

the sixth is to go to the Buddha-fields and to behold the *Tathāgatas* and to hear their true Teaching (*saddharma*);...[26]

The training of the bodhisattva in relation to the quest to engage in true teaching is expressed in a final passage that also sets forth stages, but with an emphasis on personal attainment through study and meditation that establishes the centrality of study of the Mahāyāna scriptures of the "Bodhisattva Basket" (*bodhisattvapiṭaka*):

"[The bodhisattva] sees that in order to rightly achieve liberation, wisdom - the counteragent - (must be applied) to the production of the major

afflictions (of view) which (obscure) the sphere of reality with all (kinds of) false imputations.

He sees that right meditation is the means for achieving the light of gnosis and he sees that the achievement of meditation, meditative equipoise, and meditative concentration is preceded by the study of the bodhisattva's scriptural collection, (*bodhisattvapiṭaka*) and that study is their causal basis;

having seen that, he seeks learning with great vigor, and there is no wealth or necessity of life, or internal or external property which he will not give for the sake of hearing the True Teaching (*saddharma*);

and there is no respect towards the spiritual preceptor which he does not practise, there is no worshipful salutation which he does not make, there is no bodily injury that he will not endure."[27]

It is evident in these different examples of the use of the term *saddharma* that the *BBH* considers all doctrinal paths of Buddhism to be *dharma* as such, and when discussed either collectively, or in comparison with non-Buddhist, i.e., *asaddharma* teaching, each qualifies as an aspect of *saddharma*. It is also apparent that the *BBH* has a consistent idea of its own preferred true teaching which functions both as an over-arching conception of a course of progress to the *Tathāgata* condition, and as a basis for an intricate assemblage of details which explain the way to that condition.

Thus, while all aspects of Buddhist *dharma* are valid, there is actually none that is as comprehensive and as fully accomplishing as the *bodhisattva saddharma*. The way the *BBH* expresses this fully, and asserts the superiority of its conception of the Mahāyāna, is by distinguishing levels of Buddhist teaching within *saddharma* using the concept of "vehicle" (*yāna*) and its aligned notion of "lineage" (*gotra*).

6. Vehicles (*Yāna*) as Expounded in the *BBH*

The *BBH* states repeatedly and unequivocally that its teachings are those of the Mahāyāna (Great vehicle) and that the Mahāyāna teachings are intended specifically for the bodhisattva's development. There are numerous passages in all three Books of the *BBH* in which Mahāyāna is mentioned in contrast with the vehicles (*yāna*) of the *śrāvaka* ("disciples") and *pratyekabuddhas* ("solitary buddhas").[28]

The term "*Hīnayāna*" ("Lesser Vehicle") appears in the *BBH* four times. It is used to signify the combined vehicles of the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*. The vehicles of the *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and bodhisattvas are also referred to in the *BBH* collectively as *triyāna* ("three vehicles").[29] The *BBH*'s usage of these various terms relating to the *yānas* conforms with standard usage in other Mahāyāna texts.[30]

The Mahāyāna teachings are upheld by the *BBH* as the highest and best of religious teachings and there are critical differences and distinctions drawn between the Mahāyāna course of bodhisattva development and development of the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* in their vehicles. Nonetheless, it is evident that the *BBH* considers non-Mahāyāna Buddhist vehicles to be valid, which is congruent with their common status as *saddharma* already noted. The *BBH* therefore has all the characteristics of a *triyāna* Mahāyāna Buddhist text.[31]

The fundamental feature of the *triyāna* position is an acknowledgement that all vehicles of Buddhist teaching and practice are legitimate and lead to complete liberation (*parinirvāṇa*).[32] The Buddhist vehicles are spoken of separately and distinctly in the

BBH and other Mahāyāna texts for purposes of discussion and comparison. They are, however, always portrayed in texts that uphold the *triyāna* position, as complementary aspects of a comprehensive whole.

There are, in fact, many shared features that unite the three Buddhist vehicles. Each is held to have been taught by the *Tathāgata* Buddha, for example, and the foundation of all three are the teachings of impermanence, selflessness, karma, the four noble truths, and the eight-fold path.[33] The goals of *nirvāṇa* and *parinirvāṇa* are the ultimate results for each of the different vehicles, as well.[34]

An important and basic reason that the Mahāyāna is held by its advocates, including the *BBH*, to be superior to the other Buddhist vehicles, is that the Mahāyāna practices are the cause of *Tathāgata* Buddhas arising in the world.[35] Without Mahāyāna views, aspirations, and activities, there would be no fully enlightened, fully empowered beings to teach any paths of liberation at all. Consequently, the Mahāyāna is regarded by those who follow it to be superior because it is held to be the only vehicle that fully develops individuals into *Tathāgatas*. The detailed means for this achievement is what the *BBH* formulates as its bodhisattva path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*).

In the case of the *BBH* and other *triyāna* texts, this superiority does not, however, imply exclusivity.[36] The Mahāyāna is deemed superior because it is the vehicle that produces teaching *Tathāgata* Buddhas and has other features related to this capacity. In terms of the final and ultimate Buddhist goal of liberation (*nirvāṇa*), however, Mahāyāna

is not held to be the only possible vehicle to its attainment. All Buddhist vehicles are deemed to be equally capable of leading to liberation (*nirvāṇa*).

It is noted in the *BBH* that all Buddhists have a desire for liberation, or what the text calls "emancipatory resolve", and all can attain it. The difference between the Mahāyāna and the others is stated in terms of a difference in whether they conceive of attaining liberation in the near or distant future. The bodhisattva's commitment entails a resolve to take rebirth repeatedly to attain complete enlightenment as a *Tathāgata*, no matter how long that succession of rebirths lasts. Thus those individuals involved in the *śrāvakayāna* resolve to attain *nirvāṇa* in this present life, while those in the Mahāyāna resolve to postpone their liberation to a future time. The *BBH* notes this distinction as follows:

> " resolve to attain *nirvāṇa* even in this life is possessed by those whose resolve is to attain *nirvāṇa* by means of the *śrāvakayāna*. The resolve to attain *nirvāṇa* in the future is possessed by those whose resolve is to attain *nirvāṇa* by means of the Mahāyāna." [37]

Despite the Mahāyāna emphasis of the *BBH* text, there is only one section of the *BBH* that expressly states why the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) is to be considered "great". These greatnesses summarize the uniqueness of the Mahāyāna view and position:

> "There are seven greatnesses due to which the bodhisattvas' vehicle is called the "great vehicle": ... the greatness of dharma, ...aspiration, ...determination, ...special intent, ...accumulation, ...time and accomplishment" [38]

Each of these attributes is great for a different reason. *Dharma*, in this instance, refers and draws attention to the Mahāyāna sutra literature, for the text goes on to say that *dharma* is great because it is "the vast section of the bodhisattva scriptural basket from the twelve-aspected speech (of Buddha)". Aspiration refers to the production of the enlightenment aspiration (*bodhicittotpāda*), which is great because it is "the basis for the (great) attainment of full enlightenment". The other attributes are great because they require exceptional efforts and attitudes, and culminate in the extraordinarily great results of the enlightenment of a *Tathāgata* Buddha.

In another section of the *BBH* there is a summary of eight aspects deemed to incorporate the whole Mahāyāna. The first three of these refer to teaching the Mahāyāna scriptures, especially the "essence of all things"[39] and the prowess of the great Mahāyāna beings:

> " these eight aspects incorporate the whole Great Vehicle:
>
> Teaching the bodhisattva's scriptural basket, ...teaching the essence of all things from the bodhisattva's scriptural basket, ...teaching the powers of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas from the bodhisattva scriptural basket "[40]

The next four aspects that emanate from this engagement with the scriptural teachings involve mental states that become increasingly more meditative, relating to the "special intent" of learning the Mahāyāna to attain complete enlightenment for oneself and to teach others the path(s) of liberation. These four aspects are described as follows:

> " practice of special intent preceded by correct listening to and considering (the bodhisattva basket); involvement in meditation preceded by special

> intent; achievement of meditative results through meditation; (and) perpetual distinction [i.e., maintaining] of the meditative result"[41]

The eighth and final factor is the culmination of the Mahāyāna in the attainment of the "incomparable state of full enlightenment, manifest perfect Buddhahood", which results from the seven factors previously accomplished.[42]

This depiction once again emphasises the importance placed by the *BBH* on listening to, studying, contemplating and teaching the Mahāyāna scriptures in the pursuit of complete enlightenment. It is similar in structure and intent to the passages previously quoted, which also associate the attainment of higher meditative conditions with the correct study and application of the scriptural teachings.

7. Distinguishing *Śrāvakas*, *Pratyekabuddhas*, Bodhisattvas

The *BBH*'s most basic categorization of individuals who are engaged in Buddhist spiritual development is found in the idea of "lineages" (*gotra*) which correspond directly to the Buddhist vehicles. There are three lineages: disciple's lineage (*śrāvakagotra*), solitary buddha lineage (*pratyekabuddhagotra*) and buddha lineage (*buddhagotra*).[43]

Individuals in these three lineages are "developed" in their corresponding vehicles with the help of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. *Śrāvaka* lineage members are developed in the *śrāvaka* vehicle, *pratyekabuddha* lineage members in the *pratyekabuddha* vehicle, and buddha lineage members in the great vehicle. There are also those who are without

Buddhist lineage (*agotra*) altogether and they are stated to be developed by the Buddhas and bodhisattvas for rebirth in "happy existences".[44]

Anyone who is established in one of the three Buddhist lineages -- but not those who are of no lineage whatsoever -- is capable of achieving final liberation (*parinirvāṇa*) through "purification" of the respective conditions of their lineage path. Progress along any of the three lineage paths is described as a result of several causal factors that assist the attainment of ultimate liberation. This is outlined as follows:

> "The excellence in lineage of a person endowed with lineage preceding attainment of the *nirvāṇas*, with and without residual aggregates, is the projective cause of purification.
>
> Reliance on a true person, listening to true teaching, correct attention, and prior development of faculties are assisting causes.
>
> The seeds of uncontaminated enlightenment-orientated factors included in lineage are the originating causes of those enlightenment-orientated factors.
>
> These enlightenment-orientated factors emergent from their seeds are immediate causes in the progress to the *nirvāṇas* with and without residual aggregates.
>
> The *śrāvaka*'s lineage yielding *parinirvāṇa* of the *śrāvakayāna*, the *pratyekabuddha*'s lineage yielding *parinirvāṇa* of the *pratyekabuddha* vehicle and the mahayāna lineage yielding parininrvana of the mahayāna are the determinative causes of purification."[45]

The progression through stages of development outlined in the preceding passages, though clearly showing *parinirvāṇa* is attainable by a person in any one of the three lineages, also reinforces the notion that each of the lineages and each of the vehicles is a separate and discreet entity unto itself. This is indeed the case, a fact which is

reiterated in a number of places in the *BBH*. One does not and indeed cannot change lineages, nor does one progress from one lineage or vehicle to another. There are innate and intrinsic qualities associated with each lineage and vehicle; the model which is presented is essentially deterministic in this regard.

Along the course of development toward *Tathāgatahood*, bodhisattvas share a number of attainments in common with the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*.[46] The bodhisattva ultimately surpasses these, however, attaining to levels which the others do not reach. For this reason, there are a variety of distinctions made to point out the difference between the bodhisattva and these others at various stages of development. Most importantly, only the bodhisattva is considered to have the requisite character and capacities to follow the course of conduct to the attainment of the condition of *Tathāgata* Buddhahood, whereas the *śrāvakas* and solitary buddhas do not. This professed superiority of the Mahāyāna is termed the "peerless distinction".[47]

This distinction indicates that those belonging to the bodhisattva lineage have the capability to eventually remove "objective obscuration", which means that they can achieve the omniscience of a *Tathāgata*. Those belonging to the other two lineages do not have such a capability and therefore cannot and will not attain the condition of a *Tathāgata*.[48]

When compared to this crucial difference, most of the remaining distinctions amongst the lineages and vehicles pale in comparison. Nonetheless, the *BBH* does

mention a number of differences at various points in the text to reinforce Mahāyāna pre-eminence. The following are the substantive distinctions that are made.

At *BBH* I:i:4 the bodhisattva is stated to excel over the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* in faculties, achievement, skill and results. The bodhisattva's faculties are naturally acute, his achievements affect the welfare, help and happiness of multitudes of beings, he is skilled in all forms of knowledge, he attains incomparable perfect and complete enlightenment.

In a similar vein, at *BBH* I:ii:19, it is stated that because the bodhisattva produces aspiration for enlightenment, his virtue is immeasurable when compared with the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*, since supreme enlightenment is the result he will attain, whereas the others will not.

Amongst the many capacities in which the advanced bodhisattva and the *Tathāgata* exhibit superiority, is their ability to understand and teach the principles and practices of all three Buddhist vehicles. This stands out as one of the most valued results of the bodhisattva course of study as set forth in the *BBH*, emphasized in different ways.

At *BBH* I:xviii:287 it is stated that one of bodhisattva's main means of aiding beings is by "teaching the three vehicles" and at *BBH* I:xviii:293, a bodhisattva's major talent is his "formulation of information concerning the disciples vehicle, solitary buddhas vehicle and great vehicle". At *BBH* II:i:309 it is asserted that with his skill in the three vehicles the bodhisattva teaches "in conformity to the lineage, power and conviction of living beings; he teaches appropriately and expeditiously".

Thus, though the bodhisattva personally pursues the Mahāyāna, he does not try to force the Mahāyāna on anyone. At *BBH* I:223 it is stated that "he induces those having disciples and solitary Buddha lineages to enter the disciples and solitary Buddha's vehicles and he induces those having the *Tathāgata* lineage to enter the vehicle of peerless real perfect enlightenment." In several instances (e.g., at *BBH* I:i:42) it is noted that the bodhisattva is concerned with two things: the development of his own buddha-qualities and the development of beings in the three vehicles.

Thus the concepts of *saddharma*, *yāna* and *gotra* are used in the *BBH* to delineate and define basic parameters of an essentially religious kind. *Saddharma* is used to establish the Buddhist character of the text vis-a-vis non-Buddhist teachings, while *yāna* and *gotra* are used to demonstrate the superior of the Mahāyāna position vis a vis non-Mahāyāna teachings. There are both inclusive and exclusive tendencies expressed in these concepts. On the one hand, there is inclusiveness and tolerance expressed towards all Buddhist vehicles and lineages and their respective teachings, which serves to unite them. On the other hand, there are distinctions made amongst them, which serve to hold the various Buddhist positions in tension.

There is a great difference, however, between making distinctions amongst groups, and the disavowing or deprecating of one group by another. Unlike the *ekayāna* position taken in certain Mahāyāna works that do present the Mahāyāna as truly exclusive,[49] the *triyāna* position of the *BBH* credits validity to all levels of Buddhist practice, with each having its duly appointed teachings and procedures to follow. There

are common bases amongst all Buddhists that are respected and the ultimate goal (*nirvāṇa*) is the same for each. The bodhisattva, moreover, aspires to teach all levels of the *saddharma* correctly and appropriately, according to the capacity and "determination" of specific individuals.

There is no hostility or antipathy expressed towards any stage, practice, or level of the Buddhist teachings in the passages examined here, or in any other part of the *BBH*. On the other hand, a clearly superior status is given to the *BBH*'s own Mahāyāna position. Thus the *BBH* can justifiably be considered elitist in some senses, while at the same time inclusive and openminded in others.

8. Prophesies of Decline and the Problem of "Semblances"

The preceding discussion has drawn attention to certain unique characteristics of the *BBH*'s formulation of *saddharma*. Chief amongst these is the text's emphasis on the importance of the bodhisattva aspirant properly taking up, studying, practising, and applying the teachings of the *bodhisattva piṭaka*. This is fundamental to the educational view of the *BBH* as a Mahāyāna text, for it is through adopting and teaching the principles and practices contained in the Mahāyāna collection that the bodhisattva lineage continues to thrive. At the same time, the *BBH* makes it clear that it is also incumbent on the bodhisattva, in aspiring to be a "universal" Buddhist teacher, to teach, guide and direct those who are involved in other Buddhist lineage practices as well.

This combined emphasis is a determining feature in the model of the "ideal teacher" embodied in the *BBH*'s conception of the *Tathāgata* Buddha. One of the exclusive characteristics of the enlightened *Tathāgata* Buddha is his complete accomplishment of knowledge (*jñāna-pāramitā*) and ability to explain all the Buddhist doctrines.[50] The desirability of the bodhisattva's quest for "all knowledge" (*sarvajñā*) is validated by this example, which is expressed in the *BBH* as an aspect of the attainment of perfect complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).[51]

Complete and thorough knowledge of all Buddhist doctrines is, moveover, vital to the preservation of Buddhism generally and helps guard against deterioration of any of its truths. The *BBH* is obviously eager that bodhisattva aspirants acquire instruction in *saddharma* and also be able to teach it fully. At the same time, the *BBH* expresses concern over the possibility of corruption in Buddhist doctrine when learning is not engaged in properly. This contributes to a conservative and cautious quality in the *BBH*, setting limits on the extent of innovation that is possible in teaching and interpreting any of the Buddhist tenets, propositions or beliefs.

This conservative tendency is expressed in the perceived relationship between poor teaching and the potential demise of Buddhism altogether. As was noted in chapter one, there are passages in the *BBH* that indicate that its author was aware of a prophecy of Buddhism's decline similar to that set forth in the *Cakkavattisihanāda sutta*. Though consideration of the issue of Buddhism's decline does not occupy a great deal of space in the *BBH*, what is included is significant in that it alerts a bodhisattva to the need for

strict attitudes toward study and practise. A short summary of Buddhist traditions relating to this aspect of *saddharma* and the prophecies of decline may be helpful to contextualize the significance of this.

Early in the history of Indian Buddhism, perhaps as early as the first century of its founding, the term *saddharma* came to be associated with a prediction of the decline and eventual disappearance of the Buddhist teachings.[52] *Saddharma*, in that context, was used to designate "original" and "authentic" teachings of the Buddha, prevailing before the decline set in. Once decline began, it was suggested, other teachings would threaten the "true teaching". Such teachings were deemed to be "counterfeits", "semblances" or "reflections" of the original and there was concern expressed over their potential to subvert the *saddharma*.[53]

Over the course of Buddhist history in India and other parts of Asia, the prediction of Buddhism's decline became the theme of a variety of legends and prophecies, each setting out stages of the degeneration of the *saddharma* and giving reasons for it.[54] The reasons given for decline vary, ranging from internal causes in the Buddhist community, such as the admission of women into the Order, to factors threatening Buddhism from without, such as persecution by tyrannical kings.[55] All Buddhist traditions appear to have had their own or a shared version of such a story of degeneration and decline.[56]

Accompanying the visions of degeneration and decline in these various prophetic stories are visions of renewal and eventual reassertion of the *saddharma*. Again,

traditions vary about the causes of such renewal, ranging from the power of individual conscience on the one hand, to the intervention of mighty kings with their armies on the other.[57] Just as there appears to be no Buddhist tradition without a story of decline, there is similarly no such story that is without an account, or at least an allusion, to the eventual reassertion of the *saddharma* as well.

The decline of the *saddharma* is referred to in the *BBH* and also associated with the appearance of teachings which are deemed semblances (*pratirūpakāni*) of the true teachings. There are two sections in the text that give indications that the author was writing with the threat of semblances in mind, and was, moreover, concerned with the possibility of the *saddharma*'s demise.[58]

One of these passages is located at the end of the *BBH* where it is made clear that the study of the *BBH* is directly related to preventing the production of semblances:

> "As long as the religious instruction (*dharma-vinaya*) which is extensively explained in this work [the *BBH*] shall last, as long as there will be instruction, recitation and achievement in accordance with religion (*dharma-anudharma*), for so long shall the semblance of the true teaching (*saddharma-pratirūpaka*) that causes the true teaching (*saddharma*) to vanish, not increase.
>
> Wherever the semblance of the true teaching (*saddharma-pratirūpaka*) increases, there this true teaching (*saddharma*) which is endowed with significance shall disappear." [59]

There is no reference in this, or immediately preceding passages, as to what specifically is meant by "semblance of the true teaching" (*saddharma pratirūpaka*). Nonetheless the author clearly sees the true teaching of the *BBH* to be endangered by a

semblance or semblances, against which it (the *BBH*) is also an antidote and defence. The statement carries with it a note of concern and warning to the reader.

The foregoing passage gives no clues as to which version of the degeneration prophecy may have influenced the *BBH*, though it indicates that the *BBH* was either conceived, or used in, an intellectual climate that took the possibility of the degeneration of Buddhism seriously. Some indication of the possible verion involved is indicated in another section of the text, where a more detailed and identifiable description of the conditions of the age is made. This is found at *BBH* I:xvii:251 where the topic under discussion is how the bodhisattva perceives and knows the world.

In that section, the bodhisattva's perception of the world is depicted as an awareness of life's suffering and difficulty, in which beings are born and die, finding neither truth nor release. This basic awareness of the transitoriness of life, and the ignorant state of beings in the world, is described as follows:

> "The bodhisattva knows the world of beings (*sattvalokam*) as it is (*yathābhūtam*), thinking: "These wretched beings involved in the world! Though they are born, grow old, die, transmigrate and are born again, they are without refuge other than old age and death, not knowing how things really are."[60]

This fundamental condition is further exacerbated by hindrances (*kaśaya*) which afflict the minds and bodies of human beings. The hindrances, as described in the *BBH*, are related to the period in which the world presently finds itself, designated in the *BBH* as the intermediate eon (*antarakalpa*). There are five areas in which these hindrances are manifest: lifespan (*ayus*); beings (*sattva*), afflictions (*kleśa*), views (*dṛṣṭi*), and the

age (*kalpa*). The description of the first three hindrances is given as follows:

> "Hindrance of lifespan means the brief duration of life of any person presently living, the greatest of which will be spent in less than 100 years.
>
> Hindrance of beings means that at present the majority of beings do not respect mother and father, monks or brahmins, do not attend to the elder of the family, do not act purposefully or properly, are not afraid of common or uncommon sins, do not give gifts or strive for merit, do not keep fasts and aren't involved in taking up morality.
>
> Hindrance of afflictions means that for most beings at present there is frequent occurrence of sinful non-virtues comprised of unlawful desire for the the unlawful, attachment to poisons, taking up of weapons and clubs, fighting, destruction, wars, disputation, deceit, fraud, dishonesty and lying."[61]

These three hindrances portray a picture similar to the one found in the Pali version of the *Cakkavattisihanāda sutta*. In that version, the human lifespan becomes increasingly reduced to 10 years from a far greater previous span. This reduction is associated with the same factors as described in the *BBH*, such as lack of respect for parents, religious persons and clan heads.[62] Moreover, the *Cakkavatti* highlights the fact that moral degeneracy becomes increasingly prevalent, with theft, violence, murder, adultery, abuse, and lying becoming the norm.[63]

The *BBH* expands on these three hindrances with mention of two more that are not found in the Pali *Cakkavatti sutta*. These hindrances, of "views" and of "the age", though related to similar ideas found in the āgama literature, appear to be an aspect of the *BBH*'s own particular formulation. The two final hindrances are described thus:

> "Hindrance of views means that at present there are many teachings resembling the true teaching (*saddharma-pratirūpakāni*) which are the outcome of perverted understanding of the teaching and lead to the decline and destruction of true teaching (*saddharma*)...
>
> Hindrance of times means that at present the intermediate eon of famine is at hand and there is much famine, the intermediate eon of sickness is at hand and there is much sickness, the intermediate eon of fighting is at hand and there is much killing due to fighting.
>
> Formerly it was not like this. Considering the world in this way, the bodhisattva is one who has knowledge of the world (*lokajñā*)."[64]

The foregoing passages do not name specific tenets, positions or schools that comprise the semblances of teachings that are a perversion of and/or challenge to *saddharma* as understood by the *BBH*. It is thus initially unclear whether the semblances are the teachings of Buddhists who are mistaken in their ideas and doctrines, or whether semblances are the teachings of non-Buddhists that are somehow similar, yet still improper for Buddhists to espouse.

What is clear, however, is that the *BBH* sees a connection between the degenerate condition of the present age and the views and activities that have arisen that are not in conformity with *saddharma*. It also considers the propagation of *saddharma* as a means of staving off the erosion associated with semblances.

An important reference to the concept of semblance is found at *BBH* I:x:158-9 which suggests that bodhisattvas may themselves be sources for the appearance of semblances. The reference occurs during the enumeration of four grounds for a

bodhisattva's defeat -- that is, grounds for losing one's formal basis of being considered a bodhisattva.[65]

The fourth ground for defeat is stated to be as follows:

> " If by himself, or by emulating others, (the bodhisattva) disparages the bodhisattva collection (of scripture) and is attracted to a semblance of the true teaching (*saddharma-pratirūpakam*) and is pleased with it and enters into and teaches this semblance of the true teaching, this practice is a source of the bodhisattva's defeat"[66]

Obviously the creation, study and propagation of semblances was taken seriously enough that it warranted such special mention and severe sanction. The most clear reference to the bodhisattva being a source of semblances is found at *BBH* I:xviii:289. That passage describes a bodhisattva's fault that "looks like a virtue", because it can be confused with expansive knowledge. This fault is stated to be "having a taste for, teaching and formulating teachings resembling true teaching." At the same place, one of the good qualites of the bodhisattva is to "abandon teachings resembling true teaching" *BBH* I:xviii:289.

Clearly the *BBH* is concerned that the bodhisattva not produce or perpetuate semblances and references cited from the text would suggest that the *BBH* perceived one major threat coming from individuals already involved in Buddhism who strayed from or innovated improperly on Buddhist doctrine. Moreover, proper knowledge of the *saddharma* appears to be the chief means to keep the semblances from gaining any ground.

These kinds of warnings would affect the extent to which individuals could innovate on Buddhist teaching, but it need not necessarily have affected the breadth of study which could be engaged in, as long as it was understood that *saddharma* was limited to the "approved" vehicles of the Buddhist teachings.

The *BBH* does not actively take up the questions of who gives that approval, and how "orthodoxy" in Buddhist doctrinal matters is to be determined, and it does not leave them open for debate. There are fundamental doctrines that are the mainstay of all Buddhist schools. At the same time, however, there is some latitude on how those doctrines are presented and taught. This allows for far-reaching elaboration on the main tenets, which is seen in the variety of important developments in Mahāyāna philosophy during the first centuries of the common era. It also opens the way to misinterpretation and the propagation of false and misleading teachings.

The authority in matters of doctrine ultimately rested with the learned Buddhist masters themselves. While any new proposition could be presented and entertained, it would have to eventually meet the test of whether it accorded with the basic premises of Buddhist truth, passed down through generations of learning, study and transmission. The norms and standards used to judge matters of doctrine, though perhaps influenced by circumstances of the time, relied on the integrity of inherited tradition. At the same time, because open debate on the doctrinal issues was encouraged as part of Buddhist religious training, disagreements on philosophical and even monastic procedural issues could, and did, lead to sectarian divisions.

The articulation of an ecumenical position vis-a-vis Buddhist tradition does not abrogate the methods by which doctrines or positions were tested and judged to be Buddhist. Indeed, many of the novel Mahāyāna doctrines were ultimately rejected by non-Mahayanist schools that did not accept the Mahāyāna sūtras as *buddhavācana* - the verifiable word of the Buddha. Disagreement and dissent were therefore not unknown; indeed, they were common.

The *BBH* was itself a new formulation, which as a Mahāyāna statement did not please some, and as an ecumenical inclusive statement of Buddhism, likely did not please others. This, however, is not a concern that preoccupies or over-rides the fundamental purpose of the text, which is to present an orderly and detailed collation and descriptive portrayal of the bodhisattva's character and stages of development to *Tathāgata* Buddhahood. This is the text's primary concern and it is to a discussion of the bodhisattva path as set forth in the *BBH* that discussion now turns.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE NOVICE AND THE BODHISATTVA PATH

The *BBH*'s discussion of education and religious practice is centered on, and integrated into, the bodhisattva ideal and the conception of the bodhisattva's path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*). The treatment of these subjects in the text is frequently complex, with elements of theory and practice organized in distinctive categories and discussed in technical and specialized terms. The exposition of the *BBH* is largely concerned with portraying the bodhisattva as the ideal Mahāyāna religious person. The bodhisattva, established on the path of training, is distinguished by intelligence, morality, compassion, learning, and skill in helping others. The more highly advanced bodhisattvas, the Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas, are portrayed as god-like beings possessing awe-inspiring miraculous powers, with mental capacities far beyond those of ordinary individuals.[1]

These portrayals of the developed and the celestial bodhisattvas are the ones most familiar in the Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature, and are therefore also given the greater share of attention in the *BBH*. Their depiction is contrasted, however, with another image of the bodhisattva that presents a less developed person, an imperfect person struggling at the outset of the path of practice, attempting to apply its principles in daily life. The

bodhisattva in this instance is portrayed as a student trainee who has taken up Mahāyāna practise with the aspiration to guide and assist others.

The following discussion outlines the *BBH*'s depiction of the bodhisattva ideal, drawing attention to the "novice bodhisattva"[2] at the preliminary stage of the path training in the six perfections (*pāramitā*). Rules that guide a novice's involvement in teaching and learning are also described.

1. The Early Bodhisattva Concept

The bodhisattva (Pali: *bodhisatta*) concept is unique to Buddhism, employed both in the pre-Mahāyāna and in the Mahāyāna tradition to designate "a person destined for complete enlightenment".[3] The concept is fully developed in the Mahāyāna, yet it is an idea that originated in the pre-Mahāyāna period and is well established in Buddhism's early texts. The bodhisattva portrayed in the *BBH* represents, therefore, a religious ideal that had already undergone a process of development and refinement for nearly a thousand years prior to Asaṅga's treatment of it.[4]

Bodhisattva doctrine is first found in the pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist *Āgama* literature and in the associated tradition of the *Jātaka* tales. There are two related dimensions of the bodhisattva ideal developed in these materials that provide the bodhisattva concept with its fundamental features. The first is established with the life of Siddhārtha Gautama who, after intense religious practices as a bodhisattva attained liberation (*nirvāṇa*) and the condition of a fully enlightened *Tathāgata* Buddha. For the remainder

of his lifetime as the Śākyamuni Buddha, Gautama taught the realization of his enlightenment, the *Dhamma*.

The second, complementary aspect of the ideal, is set forth in the *Jātaka* stories depicting Gautama's lives leading up to the final life in which he became a Buddha. These stories elaborate on the bodhisattva's many qualities and virtues, exercised in lifetimes of practice and application.[5]

The bodhisattva, as Gautama, is portrayed as a person who becomes an extra-ordinary, super-normal human being, while his development in the *Jātaka* stories portrays him in a variety of lesser forms, exhibiting various praiseworthy attributes. These two aspects, taken together, form the basis for major themes and ideas embodied in the bodhisattva concept as a whole. The principal one amongst these is the idea that extra-ordinary self-perfection and liberation (*nirvāṇa*) are attainable through dedication to training and personal development through a succession of lifetimes.

References to the bodhisattva are generally reserved in the early Buddhist tradition for use when describing Gautama Buddha. There is also recognition that the bodhisattva ideal applies to other beings besides him, though this is within a limited context. Thus, in addition to Gautama Buddha, six Buddhas who lived in ages long prior to him are stated to have had bodhisattva careers.[6] Furthermore, the bodhisattva Maitreya, who, according to early Buddhist tradition will be the next Buddha to appear, is believed to be currently completing the advanced levels of his bodhisattva career.[7] The model for the bodhisattva careers of the previous Buddhas and the coming Maitreya in the *Āgamas*,

is the same model that applies to Gautama, namely, a succession of lives of training and practice, leading to attainment of the complete enlightenment of a *Tathāgata* Buddha, and *nirvāṇa*.

This general model of spiritual development in the early tradition is the basis for the bodhisattva concept, which was further developed, enhanced and systematized in the emerging Mahāyāna. This model also provides the basis for the *BBH*'s formulation of its bodhisattva training path.

2. Bodhisattva Devotionalism

The rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism is directly linked to developments in the bodhisattva concept that gave it a broad and more inclusive character than that depicted in the agamas. The restrictions on conceiving of bodhisattvas strictly in the persons of Gautama, Maitreya and the past Buddhas, are removed in the new *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna. These, in contrast, describe this world and myriads of others, in the past, present and future, as replete with bodhisattvas, all engaged in accomplishing full enlightenment. The potential for the existence of bodhisattvas is depicted in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* to be virtually limitless, the boundaries are set only by the limits of the believer's imagination.[8]

One of the prominent features of Mahāyāna doctrine relating to the existence of a plethora of bodhisattvas is the belief that they are amenable to prayer and petition. Whereas pre-Mahāyāna had the sole figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya as a source of

succor, the Mahāyāna proferred many bodhisattvas who could be called upon to help and guide the believer in times of distress and need. Thus, devotionalism is an important factor to be taken into account in the development of the early Mahāyāna conception of the bodhisattva.[9]

Some scholars have speculated that external influences, most notably the rise of devotional Hinduism, may have served to shape this aspect of the bodhisattva doctrine.[10] There appears to have been a rapid spread of the Bhagavāta religion, Vaisnavism and Saivaism, amounting to a general movement toward worship of new and more "personal" Gods in India, in the period of the emerging Mahāyāna.[11] It has been suggested that these new religious forms developed as responses to a climate of uncertainty due to social change in the period.[12]

If this suggestion is correct, the mighty Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas of the early Mahāyāna -- the "great beings" of the Great Vehicle -- were intended to be the powerful and god-like equivalents of the saviours portrayed in the other religions. While this claim cannot be proven, it is clear that the so-called "celestial" bodhisattvas, including Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha and many others referred to in the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, became objects of devotion and worship in Buddhism.[13] This is indeed one of the most tangible features of the emergence of early religious Mahāyāna. This important aspect of the bodhisattva doctrine is fully attested to through inscriptional and iconographic evidence by the first century of the Common Era.[14]

A different stand on the relationships, but not the ultimate effect, of these social and historical factors was taken by Har Dayal in *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, when he suggested that devotionalism arose within early Buddhism, with Śākyamuni Buddha as its chief object of worship.[15] Dayal reasons that the logical extension of this worship was the creation of Buddhist saints -- the bodhisattvas -- who also embodied the qualities of the Buddha. Unlike the Buddha, who had entered into *nirvāṇa*, the bodhisattvas were alive in the heavens and amenable to prayer.[16] The attraction which this would have held for the lay devotees accounts, according to Dayal, for the popularization of the bodhisattva ideal that is seen in the rise of the Mahāyāna.[17] Moreover, Dayal believed that the development of devotionalism in Buddhism occurred prior to the rise of Hindu and other deity cults, concluding that it was bodhisattva devotionalism that stimulated devotionalism in the other Indian religions.[18]

It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the many theories and possibilities that have been proposed concerning the order and character of these various developments within Buddhism and around it. It is clear, however, that the Mahāyāna belief in a multitude of bodhisattvas was combined with religious devotionalism to produce this important dimension of the bodhisattva concept, prior to the *BBH*'s composition. It has been noted in Part One, chapter one, that the *BBH* takes this dimension into account, but gives little emphasis or overt attention to it. Devotionalism is an aspect of the Mahāyāna tradition that is clearly accepted by, and incorporated into

the *BBH*, as is the belief that there are multitudes of bodhisattvas that are amenable to prayer.

3. Bodhisattva Path Concepts and the *BBH*

Though the *BBH* is considered to contain one of the most detailed and explicit formulations of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva course of development, it is not the first or only Buddhist text to offer a systematic presentation of it. The *BBH* represents the culmination of efforts to delineate patterns and systems of bodhisattva development that can be seen in a number of other Mahāyāna texts and even in texts with no expressed Mahāyāna affiliation.

There is, for example, a short systemization of the bodhisatta career of Gautama Buddha in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* of the Pali Canon's *Khuddaka Nikaya* which organizes bodhisatta *Jātaka* tales according to perfections (*pāramitā*).[19] A similar, but more fully developed formulation that also uses *Jātakas* to epitomize the bodhisattva perfections is the *Jātakamāla*, a later Sanskrit literary compilation.[20] Two other noteworthy systemizations that establish levels in the bodhisattva career are the *Lalitavastara* and *Mahāvastu*, which have the life of Gautama Buddha as their focus.[21]

Mahāyāna systemizations of various aspects of the "universalized" bodhisattva career, with which the *BBH* has a close affinity, are found in the *Daśabhūmika sūtra*, *Daśabala sūtra*, *Madhyamakāvatāra* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṇkāra*.[22] These works contain considerable technical detail, including many of the elements that are taken into

account and organized in the *BBH* path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*). It is worth noting, moreover, that the *BBH* is not the only text attributed to Asanga that contains a presentation of Mahāyāna doctrine using the path (*mārga*) concept as a means of co-ordinating materials. Asaṅga's *Abhisamayālaṇkāra* describes a series of paths (*mārga*) that correlate the Mahāyāna insight development, albeit in a very different configuration than in the *BBH*.[23]

One of the *BBH*'s principal contributions to the exposition of the path of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva lies in its attention to the initial stages of bodhisattva practice and discussion of issues and difficulties involved in religious training. Many of the early Mahāyāna *sūtras*, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* can also be interpreted as dealing with concrete problems of individuals trying to taking up the bodhisattva path.[24] However, these texts generally deal with this matter indirectly and with the use of symbol and metaphor.

The *BBH*, on the other hand, describes the "novice" bodhisattva directly and realistically. It is especially the *BBH*'s depiction of a bodhisattva's human traits and weaknesses that makes the bodhisattva a being with whom Mahāyāna followers can personally identify. The *BBH* does not neglect the systematic description of a bodhisattva's superior attributes, and gives ample illustration of them. But it approaches the bodhisattva career as a path of personal development that begins at a more modest level.

The *BBH*'s path of training is clearly influenced by and modelled on the portrayal of Gautama's life and the succession of births which culminated in his Buddhahood. The devotional aspects of Mahāyāna, which magnify the virtues and powers of the celestial bodhisattvas are found in the *BBH* as well. But the *BBH* demonstrates that, shorn of embellishments, and brought back to the point at which they all began, *Tathāgata* Buddhas and the celestial Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas are beings who originally shared common ground with ordinary neophytes, and still do, in many ways. It is through learning and training, experience and development, that the novice also has the potential to become perfected, and like the more exalted beings equip him/herself with knowledge and skills to affect improvement in his/her personal being and provide assistance to others.

Discussion now turns to a description of the elements of the *BBH*'s bodhisattva training and the committed action station, beginning with a general outline of the path.

4. The Path of Training and Its Stages

The path of bodhisattva training sets forth principles and practices that constitute a complete program of development for the Mahāyāna religious trainee. There is a recognition that certain individuals, but not all, have an inherent potential, and affinity for, bodhisattva practice and development. One of the chief requirements of those who take up the training is that they dedicate themselves to following it until they attain complete enlightenment. The *BBH* explains that complete enlightenment is achieved by

acquiring both merit (*punya*) and gnosis (*jñāna*), which are accumulated through the practice of the six perfections (*satpāramitā*) of giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigour (*vīrya*), concentration (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).

The path of bodhisattva training is unimaginably lengthy, lasting over a period of "three incalculable eons", involving an equally incalculable number of life-times.[25] During the course of these lifetimes, the bodhisattva gradually refines his/her being, perfects knowledge and uses skill in advancing others on their development paths. The bodhisattva's training culminates in realization of incomparable, perfect, complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) as an all-knowing, all powerful *Tathāgata* Buddha. As a *Tathāgata*, the now fully-accomplished bodhisattva teaches the *saddharma* for the benefit of beings and assists them in innumerable other ways. The *Tathāgata*'s final act is entering into the final release of *parinirvāṇa*, never to be reborn.

The bodhisattva path in the *BBH* is set forth in thirteen consecutive "stations" (*vihāra*). The stations (*vihāra*) in the bodhisattva's path career are: lineage (*gotra*), committed action (*adhimukticaryā*), joy (*pramudita*), superior morality (*adhiśīla*), and superior mentality (*adhicitta*). There are also three stations of higher wisdom (*adhiprajñā*), and the stations of *sābhoganirnimitta*, *anābhoganirnimitta*, *pratisamvid*, *parama* and *Tathagata vihāra* .[26]

These thirteen stations can be divided into three sub-sections; each accords with a section of discourse in the *BBH* text. The first sub-section is comprised of the stations (*vihāra*) of lineage (*gotra*) and committed action (*adhimukticaryā*). These two stations

are called the "basics" (*ādhāra*), as they are preparatory to the second sub-section of the bodhisattva's career which is comprised of the ten subsequent stations, beginning with joy (*pramudita*) and culminating in the penultimate *parama* station of the supreme bodhisattva. The third and final sub-section, and thirteenth station, is the *Tathāgata* level, which is the climax of the path.

5. The Path Basics

The bodhisattva path description begins with identifying the factors that characterize a person who belongs to the bodhisattva lineage (*gotra*), and sets out the basics (*ādhāra*) that constitute involvement in the path of training The *BBH* introduces the basics (*ādhāra*) of its path as follows:

> " What are the basics? The bodhisattva lineage (*bodhisattvagotra*), initial aspiration (*prathamacittotpāda*) and all the teachings (*dharma*) conducive to enlightenment.
>
> Why (are these the basics)? Due to the fact that the bodhisattva will have the fortune of attaining perfect, complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyak-sambodhi*) and will possess the (*Tathāgata*'s) powers through reliance on lineage, lineage is termed 'Fortuitous Basis'.
>
> A bodhisattva applies himself to the perfections of giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigour (*vīrya*), absorption (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) through reliance on initial aspiration.
>
> Since these six perfections are the means of application to the accumulations of merit (*punya*) and gnosis (*jñāna*), the initial aspiration is called 'The basis of application to the bodhisattva's practice'.
>
> Since a bodhisattva achieves perfect complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) through reliance on the bodhisattva's practice

> (of the six perfections) this application to the bodhisattva's practice is called 'The basis of achieving Great Enlightenment.'"[27]

These three basic features of lineage (*gotra*), aspiration (*cittotpāda*) and the perfections (*pāramitā*) all play a role in establishing that a person has bodhisattva potential and each is used as a means by which the *BBH* addresses the question, Who and what is a bodhisattva?

6. Lineage (*gotra*)

The first chapter of the basics section of the *BBH* is devoted to a discussion of the idea of bodhisattva lineage (*gotra*) and also summarizes characteristics of those who are established in lineage (*gotrasthā*).[28] A number of these characteristics have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, in contrast to those that belong to other Buddhist lineages. In addition to these, the bodhisattva who is stationed in lineage (*gotravihārī*) is described as being by nature possessed of the bodhisattva qualities (*bodhisattva-guna*) and the wholesome factors (*kuśaladharma*) because of his/her natural wholesome mental continuum (*prakṛtibhadrasantānatā*).[29]

Some aspects of a bodhisattva's character are visible to others, while some characteristics can only be inferred. For example, the nascent bodhisattva can be identified because he/she is involved in the conduct of bodhisattvas, namely, engaged in behaviour that accords with the six perfections.[30] Because of what is called his/her

natural goodness, the person who has bodhisattva potential is seen to be engaged effortlessly in that which is wholesome.[31]

The potential bodhisattva is also personally well-disciplined and pays careful consideration to his/her actions, speech and thoughts. The bodhisattva stationed in lineage, though still fallible, is free of gross impurities (*audarikamalā*). It is therefore impossible for him/her to become involved in any activities that would lead to dire personal consequences, or as the *BBH* states it "immediate retribution or the severing of wholesome roots".[32]

The most important and inherent characteristic of a bodhisattva is the possession of the "buddha factors" (*buddha-dharma*), which are latent propensities that come to fruition during the path of practice. These factors, which accord with the signs of the *Tathāgata* which will be taken up at length in Part Three chapter seven, are generally not manifest in the novice bodhisattva. The *BBH* states, however, that a novice bodhisattva is a "holder of the seeds" (*bījadhāra*) of all the buddha factors that will come to fruition when the *Tathāgata* station is achieved.[33] The *BBH* explains that all the seeds of all the buddha factors are personally possessed by the novice (*ātmabhāvagata*) and contained in his body (*aśrayagata*).[34]

The bodhisattva lineage, moreover, is of two types: natural (*prakṛtisthā*) and developed (*samudanita*).[35] Both, however, are considered to be seed, (*bīja*), element (*dhātu*), and nature (*prakṛti*), in so far as they are fundamental to a bodhisattva attaining complete enlightenment and Buddhahood.[36]

7. The Aspiration for Enlightenment

The conscious involvement in the basics of bodhisattva practice is established when the aspiration for enlightenment (*cittopāda*) is produced. This has also been referred to in the preceding chapter. Without producing the aspiration for enlightenment, the bodhisattva is not engaging in his/her deeds in awareness. The chapter on aspiration (Book I:ii *cittotpādapaṭalam*) concentrates on what is called the "primary aspiration" (*prathamacittotpāda*) which is the initial intention of the novice bodhisattva, sometimes called the "wishing mind".[37]

A mind that is directed toward enlightenment is equated in the *BBH* with what is called the excellent aspiration that encompasses all other excellent aspirations of the bodhisattva.[38] It is phrased simply in a traditional manner:

> " May I attain complete perfect enlightenment, manifest perfect Buddhahood. May I accomplish the welfare of all beings, establishing them in nirvāna and the *Tathāgata*'s gnosis."[39]

The aspiration to attain complete enlightenment for the sake of others is the actual, conscious starting place for a bodhisattva's path practice. As it involves the intention for personal accomplishment of the highest possible kind, the aspiration provides the basis for the collection of all the excellent and auspicious virtues and qualities that lead to enlightenment.

The social aspect of the path also becomes manifest at this point, as one's personal quest is also motivated by, and directed toward, the welfare of others. The *BBH* thus states that the aspiration "counteracts any ill tendencies that might be felt

towards others."[40] The aspiration is furthermore the basis for all other aspirations and aims, whether worldly or super-mundane (*laukikalokottareṣvartheṣu*).[41] These factors taken together, resulting from the aspiration, are considered to be its very essence (*svabhāvatā*).[42]

The initial aspiration for enlightenment is also considered to be the formal designator of a person's inclusion as a bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna, for on having produced this aspiration, the bodhisattva is considered to have entered into the great vehicle of unexcelled enlightenment (*avatīrṇah anuttare bodhimahāyāne*) and the bodhisattva may now actually be called a "bodhisattva" (*bodhisattvo bodhisattva iti*).[43]

The importance of the initial aspiration is emphasised in several other ways as well. Thus, the *BBH* states that if a bodhisattva does not consciously produce such aspiration, complete enlightenment can never be reached. There is, moreover, no basis established for a bodhisattva's compassion unless the aspiration is made. Furthermore, there is no support for the bodhisattva's practice of the enlightenment oriented factors (*bodhipakṣyadharma*) nor will his/her work for beings' welfare (*sattvārthakriyā*) be undertaken properly, without the initial aspiration to attain complete enlightenment for him/herself and others.[44]

The *BBH* notes an important distinction between two kinds of initial aspiration, that which is "emerged" (*nairyanika*) and that which is "non-emerged" (*anairyanika*). The emerged aspiration, after it is produced, is stable and does not regress. The aspiration which is non-emerged is unstable and can regress.[45] For a bodhisattva who

has stable initial aspiration, there are a number of characteristics and qualities which benefit both him/her and the beings he/she associates with. These are explained in six pairs of related characteristics that constitute the basis for all practices engaged in on the path of training. They provide a useful summary of the fundamental attitudes and intentions involved in the bodhisattva's aspiration for enlightenment.[46]

The bodhisattva who has stable initial aspiration possesses two exceptional qualities that are not common to ordinary people in the world. The *BBH* states that he "relates to all beings as a wife (*kanatrabhavena parigrahati*), but is not tainted with the faults (*doṣena*) of relating as a wife".[47] This signifies that the bodhisattva is completely devoted to all beings, but is not affected by attachments that normally go along with the spousal relation, which are described as "the affliction of fondness and displeasure due to doing of help and of harm [by one's spouse]".[48]

The bodhisattva furthermore has two special intentions towards beings, a special intention of providing benefit and a special intention of providing happiness (*hitādhyāsayasca sukhadhyaśayasca*).[49] The "beneficial intention" is the desire to help "remove beings from non-virtuous conditions and establishing them in virtuous conditions" (*akuśalāt sthanāt vyuthapya kuśale sthane pratiṣṭhāpanakāmatā*).[50] This expression is generally used in the text as a metaphor for instructing beings in the Buddhist teachings.[51]

The intention to provide happiness is related to this, and is expressed as the desire "to eliminate afflictions and provide helpful things (*anugrahakavastu*) to beings

who are destitute, impoverished, and without protection."[52] This help is offered in the form of direct material assistance to beings in trouble or suffering in some way. The two intentions of teaching and providing material aid, are complementary aspects of assisting others as fully explained in the morality chapter.[53]

There are two kinds of application (*prayogau*) which relate to these special intentions and their accomplishment. The first is daily deepening one's intention to provide help and happiness, and actually accomplishing that intention through application to the development of one's own buddha-factors. These applications refer, on the one hand, to daily recalling and rededication of the bodhisattva aspiration, and on the other, to applying oneself to the practices of the perfections which cause one to advance toward Buddhahood.[54]

The application of onself to the practices of the bodhisattva are called two "gateways" (*dvayadvāre*) for the great virtuous factors (*mahāti kuśaladharma*) that result from the bodhisattva's conduct.[55] These are described as application to one's own welfare in order to really achieve complete enlightenment and application to others' welfare in order to remove all the miseries of all beings. The two gateways are metaphors for activities in the six perfections that result in a corresponding production of "two great masses (*skandhau*) of inconceivable and immeasurable virtuous factors of merit and gnosis."[56] These "masses" are the basis for accomplishing the path, and the *BBH* reiterates that "these two acquisitions [of merit and gnosis] are the cause of

complete enlightenment and result in it". Moreover, this result "surpasses all other causes and results (*hetuphalam*)".[57]

Finally, there are two worldly benefits that are noted as the result of having produced the stable aspiration. The first benefit is that the bodhisattva is regarded as "a benefactor to all beings, a teacher, field of merit, like a father",[58] and is treated as such. The bodhisattva also acquires what the *BBH* terms "the merit of non-harm (*avyabadhya puṇya*)".[59] This indicates that the bodhisattva is protected through the merit he/she has gained from harm in this life. This merit will also result, in future lives, in the bodhisattva attaining a "superior birth", in which sufferings are limited and quickly removed, and the bodhisattva possesses many qualities that will be of benefit to others.

8. The Stage of Committed Action and the Novice Bodhisattva

The foregoing depiction of the lineage basics, though realistic in certain respects, nevertheless describes a being who is already well advanced and cultivated. The depiction, though clearly "human", is nonetheless idealized, and one has the sense that the attributes presented are what is hoped for and expected of a bodhisattva aspirant, rather than a realistic description of what he or she actually is.

There is a section of the *BBH* that discusses the first stage of preliminary practice on the path, giving a more readily identifiable and down-to-earth portrayal of a novice bodhisattva.[60] This portrayal is found in Book II, which describes the station of

"committed action" (*adhimukticaryā*) that follows after the bodhisattva has recognized that he/she belongs to the lineage, has made the initial aspiration, and begins the practice path.[61]

When describing the station of committed action, the *BBH* indicates the bodhisattva has not yet reached even the first of the ten stations in which the bodhisattva is fully and firmly established on the path.[62] The *BBH* depicts those ten stations as highly advanced. Even in the first of them -- joy (*pramudita*) -- a bodhisattva is depicted as possessed of the attributes of the celestial bodhisattvas incorporated from the devotional tradition.[63]

The station of committed action which precedes these ten is, by comparison, a more modest beginner's level, associated with initial efforts at acquiring merit and knowledge. It is only after having had an incalculably long eon of rebirths at the station of committed action, dedicated to complete enlightenment, that the novice bodhisattva even reaches the first of the ten stations in which his/her place on the path becomes firmly established.[64] The activities of the committed action station are therefore set in the context of a more basic involvement in trying to take up the path of practice. The bodhisattva is depicted here at the formative stages of developing in the perfections and other path fundamentals.

The station of committed action can be seen as a kind of threshold that the bodhisattva must pass over; it is a level at which progress is slow, yet measurable. In describing this station, the text indicates areas in which the bodhisattva is deficient and

in need of development. The description of this station is not lengthy, yet its portrayal reflects the realities of taking up practice. There are several areas of the novice bodhisattva's development that are addressed, including the difficulties of maintaining the aspiration for enlightenment, developing meditative stability and becoming authentically altruistic. At a practical level, the novice is made aware of difficulties involved in both learning the *dharma* and teaching it properly to others.

Thus the *BBH* begins by stating that the novice bodhisattva, though he/she has some power of contemplative analysis (*pratisamkhyanabalika*) and applies it intelligently (*prajñāya*), has not as yet developed that power to the point of it being a natural capacity.[65] The bodhisattva therefore has not attained a stable, non-regressive level of meditation practice. The results that arise from the application of this level of contemplative analysis, such as the analytical knowledges (*pratisamvid*), superknowledges (*abhijñā*), and other extraordinary mental conditions, are therefore unstable as well. [66]

In addition to this, the bodhisattva's mental stability is still disrupted by five basic fears that have not been overcome. These are the fear of losing one's life, fear of getting a bad reputation, fear of dying, fear of unhappy rebirths and fear of speaking before audiences.[67] The novice's concern with these fears reflects an attachment to self and person that impedes a deeper understanding of reality.

The bodhisattva, though he/she has consciously taken up the aspiration to help others, does not as yet really have true compassion for them. It is thus only through an intellectual understanding that it is right to do so, and not through a real love and

cherishing of others, that the novice bodhisattva engages in helping others achieve their aims. The bodhisattva at times, therefore, continues to act without due consideration of others, and behaves improperly "with body speech and mind".[68] Sometimes the bodhisattva also covets things, and he/she therefore can be seen even by others to be withholding necessities that others ask for, or need.

The *BBH* notes that the novice bodhisattva, though generally well-motivated towards the Buddhist verities, is still not personally knowledgeable of them. Thus, while he/she may be reverent (*śrāddhagāmi*) toward the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the novice bodhisattva does not personally know the "true reality" (*na pratyatmam tattvajānah bhāvati*) of the *Tathāgata*, Teaching or Community.[69] The bodhisattva also does not truly understand the meaning of reality (*tattvārtham*) with respect to the Buddhas and bodhisattva powers, nor even the more fundamental matters of cause and effect.[70] The novice bodhisattva does not even truly understand what he/she is trying to achieve, the means of achieving it, or the circumstances needed for its achievement.

The novice bodhisattva learning *dharma* may understand what is heard, but he/she is not as yet "established" in the knowledge presented in the teachings. Thus the *BBH* states that the bodhisattva is only possessed of a limited amount of knowledge that comes from listening to and contemplating the teachings. Sometimes even that knowledge is forgotten and the teachings themselves are also forgotten. Thus the "special powers" (*abhijñā*) of the advanced bodhisattvas that are taught to inspire and motivate the novice bodhisattvas, develop slowly and with difficulty.[71]

The novice also has not as yet developed the intense desire (*tivracchando*) for great enlightenment. Because he/she does not have earnest vigour to attain it, his/her sense of pleasure has not been turned away from sensory attractions and been directed properly toward grasping and attaining that which is profound (*gambhīr*).[72] Thus, a novice has not become firmly established in the teachings that establish what is truly beneficial and what is not, and occasionally has wrong conceptions about these.

Because the novice bodhisattva's mind has not as yet been deepened by extensive meditation and learning, he/she is deficient in a number of ways. The novice, for example, cannot remember his/her previous life, while even teachings that have been taken up, contemplated, practiced and taught for a long time in this life are also sometimes forgotten.[73] There are times, therefore, that the novice loses mindfulness about what is proper to engage in. At times he/she is learned with regard to a subject of discourse, and quite able to take up, grasp and explain it well; at other times the novice is unable to do so.[74]

Because the novice is sometimes mindful, and at others times forgetful, this prevents him/her from developing the special skill required to guide and discipline students. The novice doesn't even possess the skill needed to cultivate his/her own buddha factors in every situation. Thus even though the novice may teach the Buddhist doctrines "ardently" to others, introducing and instructing them in the teachings, that ardent introduction is not out of a true knowledge of what is being taught (*yathābhūtam ajñayā*).[75] The bodhisattva is therefore successful at teaching on some occasions and

at other times he/she is not. As the *BBH* describes it, the chances of success are like "shooting an arrow in the dark".[76]

The *BBH* recognizes that the novice bodhisattva may at times even fall away from the path of practice altogether. Sometimes he/she may abandon the aspiration for great enlightenment that has been produced, becoming lax, and even lapsing from the vows of the bodhisattva morality altogether.[77] At times the effort involved in assisting others makes the novice tired and he/she gives up trying to benefit others.

Thus the novice may get to a point where happiness is only intentionally desired for him/herself, and it is only with the most deliberate reflection that the novice desires the happiness of others. Even though the novice has ample knowledge of all the personal errors being committed through these various breaches of disciple, he/she may, in any case, repeatedly and knowingly engage in these errors, without trying to eradicate them.[78]

The *BBH* refers specifically to the novice's possible fear and apprehension regarding Mahāyāna teachings, stating that he/she may sometimes even be afraid on account of being taught the doctrines of the bodhisattva scriptural basket (*bodhisattva-piṭaka*).[79] The novice may at times become terrified, and his/her mind become agitated, clouded and doubtful, when the teachings of the profound and extensive doctrine (*gambhīram udaram dharma*deśana) are taught.[80] If this occurs, the novice may completely abandon activities of great compassion (*mahākarūṇa samudacāra*) that have been undertaken for the benefit of other beings. The novice bodhisattva will therefore

attend to beings with little sense of achieving their benefit and happiness. The novice, as a result, has ceased to practise the bodhisattva training fully, as he/she has been taught.[81]

The *BBH* reiterates these various aspects in a way that shows that the novice, though aspiring to be a bodhisattva, is still a mere beginner on the path. Thus, the *BBH* states that the bodhisattva at the stage of committed action does not yet possess all the bodhisattva characteristics that he/she has been told about. Nor is the novice seen to be engaged in all the complete enlightenment-oriented practices that he/she has been taught. The novice is far from his/her own complete enlightenment, and his/her high resolve is not really directed toward liberation (*nirvāṇa*), but rather toward revolving in cyclical existence (*samsāra saṃsṛtau*).[82] The novice is not yet ardent and possessed of the mental stablilty and wholesome factors that are conducive to enlightenment.

This depiction is indicative of the concern that the *BBH* expresses for maintaining a diligent and attentive attitude towards the Buddhist teachings, particularly the Mahāyāna teachings of the bodhisattva basket. It also contains the elements that highlight the bodhisattva's fundamental means of advancing toward the goal of complete enlightenment: application to study, mental training, learning and teaching the *dharma*, and acting for the benefit of others.

The novice bodhisattva has taken up the path with the aspiration to attain enlightenment by helping others. This requires that he/she learn many different means of assistance, the most important and powerful of which is the Mahāyāna *dharma*. This

underscores the role that education in the doctrines of the Mahāyāna plays in advancing on the bodhisattva path. It also reaffirms the fact that theoretical knowledge and mental training alone are not enough; these must be harnessed to practical activities if the bodhisattva expects to progress. The practical aspects of path training are embodied in the bodhisattva's six perfections, which the novice takes up at the committed action stage.

9. The Bodhisattva Perfections

As the foregoing section has indicated, the path to becoming a *Tathāgata* Buddha begins with certain inherent factors, qualities and tendencies, which develop through lifetimes of training. Certain of these tendencies are partially manifest at the beginning of the path, others are fully concealed. But the eventual fruition of all of them is "caused", in the sense that the developed characteristics of these factors, qualities and tendencies are the products of mental and physical activity. There are both human and super-human traits involved in the depiction of the bodhisattva. The latter are innate, but eventually become manifest, developed through activity based on the cultivation of human attributes.

The attempt to achieve human moral perfection, combined with the quest for knowledge and understanding, are therefore considered to be the activities that "produce" the super-human qualities of the enlightened beings. Ultimate success at moral perfection produces the indications of virtue, for example, in the *Tathāgata*'s thirty-two special signs. Ultimate success at intellectual endeavours produces the indications of mental

prowess, for example, in the *Tathāgata*'s super-powers and insight. There is a direct relationship between the future appearance of qualities and characteristics of enlightenment and their production based on past and present virtue and knowledge.

The *BBH* divides the bodhisattva's path activities that begin at the stage of committed action into four types: activity related to the perfections, activity related to the factors of enlightenment, activity pertaining to super-knowledge and activity for the maturation of beings.[83] These activities correspond to four duties incumbent on the bodhisattva: conditioning her/himself in virtue for the sake of enlightenment, comprehending the meaning of truth and reality, properly attaining spiritual powers, and bringing about the maturation of beings.[84]

Though engagement in all four areas of activity is understood to be simultaneous, the perfections are referred to specifically as the main activity that the novice bodhisattva engages in at the station of committed action.[85] The perfections are developed with the intention of benefiting oneself, because they cause the buddha factors to mature, but they are especially developed for the benefit of others, because they help remove suffering, and provide for the benefit and happiness of others.[86]

There is a detailed discussion in the *BBH* of each of the six major perfections and a very brief reference to four minor ones that do not figure in the text's main discussion of the path, and will not be taken up in discussion here. Each of the six major perfections has a chapter of the *BBH* devoted to it. The perfections are discussed in the traditional Mahāyāna order in chapters ix through xiv of Book I, from generosity (*dāna*)

through to wisdom (*prajñā*).[87] The lengthiest of the chapters is chapter ten on morality (*śīla*), which is also the longest chapter in the *BBH* as a whole.[88] The shortest are the chapters on concentration (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).[89]

Each chapter is divided into nine main categories and each of these categories is further sub-divided in a systematic manner. Discussion of each of the perfections proceeds from the description of its essence or "self-nature" (*svabhāva*) and ends with a description of its purification (*viśuddhi*). The intervening categories are groupings of characteristics and factors which draw together features associated with each of the perfections.[90]

The teachings of the six perfections are central to the bodhisattva path, and as in the Mahāyāna tradition generally, are considered by the *BBH* to be integral to the *saddharma* of the bodhisattvas. The etymology of the term *pāramitā* can be construed in two different, though related, ways. The first interpretation of *pāramitā*, taken over by Chinese and Tibetan translators and espoused by some Western scholars, is the belief that it derives from "gone (*ita*) to the other shore (*pāram*)".[91] That is to say, the six perfections are the means for passing over the river, or sea, of suffering.

The second interpretation, espoused by the *BBH* and other texts and scholars, is that *pāramitā* derives from the root "*pārama*", signifying the "highest, chief, superior" attainment of the bodhisattva.[92] Thus one arrives, by the activities involved in each perfection, at the highest condition that can be achieved. In either sense of the term,

pāramitā has the connotation of being the furthest point of development, and thus the completion of the six together comprise the total fulfilment of perfection.

The perfections are associated with stages of progress in the path toward *Tathāgata* Buddhahood. While certain texts, such as the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, align the perfections with discrete stages of progress, such that one perfection is fully accomplished at one stage, before proceeding to the next[93] this is not the case for the *BBH*. As with the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the *BBH* proposes the gradual accomplishment of the perfections conjointly.[94] In the path training process lasting three incalculable eons, the bodhisattva slowly "purifies" (*viśuddhati*) and masters each of the perfections concurrently. This is stated simply in the introduction to the chapters on the perfections as follows:

> "The bodhisattva realizes incomparable, complete and perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) by gradually accomplishing the six perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitām*): perfection of generostiy, perfection of morality, of patience, of vigour, of contemplation and of wisdom."[95]

Furthermore, it is understood that each of the perfections can be seen as integrated and inter-related with the others, such that correct application to one perfection involves exercising oneself in the others. This is also the case in *Prajñā* literature; one sees a close conformity with the *BBH*'s approach in this respect.[96] The *BBH* expresses it in the following manner:

> "Among all those accomplished in the difficult practice, i.e., the *Tathāgata*'s bodhisattva-practice, through an immeasurable succession of lives, those accomplished in generosity (*dāna*) consider (the practice) from the point of view of giving.

> Likewise all those accomplished in morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigour (*vīrya*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) or wisdom (*prajñā*) consider it from the their point of view.
>
> Some consider it solely from the point of view of generosity, and so on, up to solely from the point of view of wisdom. Some do so from the point of view of two, three, four or five [perfections] combined, or from the point of view of all six perfections."[97]

The foregoing conveys the idea that each perfection, both in terms of its practice and its accomplishment, embodies the practice and accomplishment of the others. Thus, in generosity, for example, the bodhisattva is acting on the basis of the three-fold morality, exercising patience, applying vigour, employing meditative absorption, and discerning the factors involved in accomplishing an act with pure intention. Unlike the *Abhisamayālaṇkāra* or the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* that discourse in great detail on the inter-relatedness of the perfections and discuss how each perfection can be taken as the focal point for the other, the *BBH* is content to state this once and thereafter integrate this relatedness in the course of separate discussions of each of the *pāramitās*.[98]

The present study does not allow an in-depth survey of all the perfections. Thus a short overview of each must suffice at the present juncture to convey their general characteristics. Discussion of the perfections will conclude with attention to certain bodhisattva's rules of conduct in the morality chapter that deal with learning and teaching. Later in this work, at Part Three, chapter six, the perfection of *prajñā* will be taken up in detail.

10. The Bodhisattva's Lineage Marks (*gotra liṅga*)

The following short depictions of the perfections are based on the *BBH*'s outline of the "lineage marks" (*gotra-liṅga*) of the novice bodhisattva at the stage of committed action. These marks are the manifest behavioural characteristics that may indicate that an individual is of the bodhisattva lineage and has been developing in the six perfections.

a. The Marks of Generosity (*dāna liṅga*)

The bodhisattva's lineage-marks of generosity are evident in that the bodhisattva naturally takes joy in the "giving of gifts".[99] This may include everything from giving alms to the poor and to mendicants, gold and valuable material objects to other "worthy petitioners", and even his/her body, given in service to those who are needy of his/her assistance.[100] The bodhisattva also gives the gift of *dharma* (*dharma*dāna), which includes both giving teachings and lending texts to those intent on improving their knowledge.[101]

The bodhisattva has a disposition inclining him/her to continually share with others whatever possessions are suitable to be given. The bodhisattva does not give anything that will harm others or lead them in an immoral or improper direction.[102] The bodhisattva gives happily, with no reluctance. He/she shares with others even if possessing only a small amount of something to give and when he/she gives things, they are of good quality.[103] The bodhisattva also does not offer anyone something that has been stolen or gained by violence or misappropriation in any way.[104]

In addition, the bodhisattva, through his behaviour, encourages others to give and he/she praises the virtues of generosity, thereby inducing in others the aspiration to give also. The bodhisattva rejoices on seeing someone who is engaged in generosity and becomes happy.[105] The bodhisattva is polite and diffident towards teachers, elders and those "worthy of gifts and respect". He/she shows respect to them even in small ways, such as by standing up and offering a seat.[106] When requested to speak on any matter "of this world or the next", i.e., on worldly topics or on religious ones, the bodhisattva complies and teaches appropriately.

The bodhisattva also gives protection to beings who are fearful for any reason, whether it be from humans, such as kings, robbers or enemies, or from natural disasters, such as fire and flood.[107] The bodhisattva offers protection from all sources of fear and danger to the fullest of his/her ability.

When the bodhisattva is in charge of another person's wealth he/she guards it properly and does not dissipate or lose it. Should the bodhisattva become indebted to others he/she neither lies about this financial condition, nor wastes anything that still remains. To those with whom the bodhisattva has close dealing (literally "his own kind") he/she is neither deceitful nor greedy. The bodhisattva would never cheat anyone in business, nor permit others to cheat those who are unknowledgeable about the value of objects such as jewels, pearls, lapis, conch, crystal conch, gold, silver, minerals and precious stones.[108]

As a consequence of such generous traits, the bodhisattva is by nature interested, well-disposed and inclined to great wealth. Moreover, his/her mind is inclined toward all types of wealth and legitimate enjoyment. The bodhisattva is a philanthropist, involved in great deeds due to his/her wealth.[109]

The *BBH* recommends that those "in the world" should be wary of its attractions, as these will dissipate wealth. The bodhisattva should act as quickly as possible to become free of the desire for involvement with "women, alcohol, ornaments, dancing, entertainment, comedians, and viewing beauties."[110] If the bodhisattva becomes involved with such things, he/she should manifest "shame and modesty" and withdraw from them.[111]

b. The Marks of Morality (*śīla liṅga*)

The lineage marks of morality are manifested in that the bodhisattva by nature engages in few non-virtuous actions of body, speech and mind and has no feeling of destructiveness towards anyone. When the bodhisattva does commit a negative deed, he/she immediately feels remorse and is displeased with the action, and avoids committing any such action again.[112]

The non-violent nature of the bodhisattva is deeply imbued. The *BBH* states that the bodhisattva is naturally without tendencies of physical aggression towards beings, whether "by hand, brick, stick, weapon, etc."[113] On the contrary, the bodhisattva

naturally loves and delights in others. He/she respects the venerable with timely expressions of respect, such as "saluations, rising up, folded hands and bowing".[114]

The bodhisattva is also agreeable, friendly and considerate of other's views. When addressing others he/she commences in a smiling, friendly manner and speaks pleasantly. The bodhisattva exhibits courtesy to others, thanks those who give help, and is honest towards even the beggars, never deceiving or tricking them. The bodhisattva acquires what he/she owns properly and lawfully. Also, the bodhisattva naturally delights in merit and esteems those who are engaged in making merit.

When the bodhisattva either sees or hears of pain being inflicted on others, whether it be physically by "killing, binding, cutting, and beating", or verbally, by "quarrelling, despising, disputing", the hurt that others feel also hurts him/her.[115] The bodhisattva values his/her commitment to engaging in the *dharma* and is concerned about the condition of his/her future lives.[116] The bodhisattva is careful not to commit even the smallest of misdeeds.

The bodhisattva's morality is supportive of the desire to help others, which he/she does in a wide variety of ways. The *BBH* states that the bodhisattva assists the actions and affairs of others in as many ways as he/she can, including helping with "farming, business, dairy farming, government, writing, accounting, tax assessing, record keeping, astrology, arbitrating between officials, households, friends and enemies, and kings, acquiring, keeping, collecting, dividing and giving enjoyables, match-making, conducting marriages, eating, consuming and so forth."[117]

The bodhisattva, moreover, is never motivated by anger, provocation, divisiveness, disputation or aggression toward others as this would be either harmful, painful or unhelpful to him/herself and others. In these ways the bodhisattva turns away from the ten paths of non-virtuous action.[118]

The bodhisattva serves others and also relies on them. Because his patience is equal to his morality, when occasions arise when others disregard his interests, he does not become upset, but rather takes up whatever pleases them as his interest as well. Being friendly and of a good temperament, if the bodhisattva does become upset, he/she does not remain anguished or angry for long, quickly regaining a positive attitude.

The bodhisattva values the truth and does not deceive others. He/she takes no delight in causing discord among another's friends nor does he/she do so amongst his/her own. The bodhisattva does not speak trivially, unnecessarily, senselessly or improperly. Moreover, he/she speaks pleasantly to his/her own servants and to those of others. In general, the bodhisattva delights in good qualities and sincerely praises others when they exhibit them as well.[119]

c. The Marks of Patience (*kṣānti liṅga*)

The bodhisattva's lineage marks of patience are presented in the *BBH* in a brief and straightforward manner. Having the mark of patience is manifested by the bodhisattva naturally being undisturbed when any harm is done to him/her and by the fact that if such harm occurs, he/she does not return it in any way. Moreover, when a

bodhisattva is admonished regarding anything to do with attitude or conduct, he/she quickly pays heed to the criticism, does not feel resentment and does not hold a grudge about it for any length of time. [120]

d. The Marks of Vigour (*vīrya liṅga*)

The bodhisattva's lineage marks of vigor are evidenced in the bodhisattva naturally being possessed of energy and effort. This is apparent in the bodhisattva getting up early, not sleeping in the daytime, and not taking much pleasure in sleeping and relaxing.[121] He/she overcomes any reluctance in the face of work, and by analyzing the reasons for his/her laziness, gets started on the task at hand. The bodhisattva is resolute in all undertakings, never feeling discouraged, nor giving up until the work is completed.

He/she is not disheartened about having undertaken the "great purpose" of enlightenment.[122] The bodhisattva never demeans him/herself and is inspired with the thought: " I am able to realise these things (that I have undertaken) and I will achieve them." The bodhisattva thus remains confident and resolute in difficult activities, such as going before large gatherings to speak, and in both motivating and defending others.[123] The bodhisattva never tires of accomplishing great, purposeful endeavours, as well as minor ones.

e. The Marks of Contemplation (*dhyāna liṅga*)

The lineage marks of contemplation are principally manifest in the bodhisattva being able to apprehend the meaning of *dharma* naturally and without much distraction. He/she is also inspired to religious practice when he/she sees or hears of those who live in desolate forests beyond the towns, isolated from people, practising their internal mental focusing. The bodhisattva marvels at this and is inspired by solitude, saying "Solitude is happiness".[124] The bodhisattva is also naturally of few mental afflictions, having only slight obscurations and few bad habits. When living alone and meditating, he/she is not overly disturbed by distracting thought and false conceptions. If these arise in his/her mind, they do not remain for long.

Practice in *dhyāna* also enables the bodhisattva to quickly focus a loving mind even on those who are unfriendly, as well as on friends and those who serve him/her in any way. When he/she sees or hears of the miseries of beings due to various types of suffering, the bodhisattva produces "a mind of great compassion"[125] and takes up practice, in whatever way he/she is able, in order to remove the misery of those beings.

The bodhisattva naturally desires to bring help and happiness to other beings, and is steadfast in any trouble. He/she assists in overcoming difficulties that arise amongst friends, misfortunes because of material possessions, and in situations that involve death, punishment, banishment, and other such problems.

The bodhisattva is intelligent and able to take up, retain and uphold the teachings he/she learns. As the bodhisattva is also endowed with a powerful memory, he/she can

recall teachings for his/her own needs and also recall it for others, even a long time after the teachings were given and explained.[126]

f. The Marks of Wisdom-Insight (*prajñā liṅga*)

The description of the lineage marks of wisdom is the last and shortest passage about the bodhisattva's marks and states simply that the bodhisattva is endowed with innate wisdom (*sahajaprajñā*) for delving into all the subjects of science.[127] He/she is not dull-witted, stupid or ignorant by birth. The bodhisattva has the the mental power to realize situations of carelessness that arise and avoids them.[128] The *BBH* concludes the section on the marks of the novice bodhisattva by stating:

> "thus [the marks indicate] the bodhisattvas' lineage (*bodhisattvagotra*) is by nature (*prakṛtyai*) possessed of the qualities (*gunayuktam*), auspiciousness (*bhadram*), virtue (*kalyānam*) and the "white factors" (*śukladharma*) is the proper cause of attaining the superior, inconceivable, stable, unequalled position of a *Tathāgata*."[129]

11. Rules and Observances Regarding Teaching and Learning

The *BBH* discourses at length on the ideals and principles of the bodhisattva's practice of the perfections, yet it also presents a code, with a formulation of rules and injunctions, for practical application in the Mahāyāna aspirant's training. This is found in the morality (*śīla*) chapter of the text. It was noted previously that this chapter circulated independently amongst Mahāyāna Buddhists as a bodhisattva ordination manual.[130] The concluding pages of the present chapter will therefore focus on those

aspects of the bodhisattva's rules in the morality section that reflect the attitudes and behaviour with regard to teaching and learning.

The bodhisattva's code of ethics is one of three aspects of morality on which the *BBH* expounds. The others are ethical attitudes and behaviour with regard to the bodhisattva's enhancement of his own buddha-factors, defined as "gathering auspicious factors" (*kuśaladharma*saṃgraha), and morality for the benefit of beings (*sattvārtha*), which summarizes the assistance one performs for others.[131] These two aspects of morality receive only brief discussion in the *BBH*, as compared with the section on the more detailed code of bodhisattva morality (*saṃvāraśīla*).[132]

The rule section of the morality chapter explains how the bodhisattva code of discipline is taken up, including formal confirmation of entering into the enlightenment path through an ordination ceremony involving teacher and preceptor.[133] The rules are accepted as vows to be observed and reflected upon daily thereafter. Transgressions are to be confessed in solitude, or to the preceptor if warranted, and remedied primarily by re-dedication to the aspiration for complete enlightenment.[134] The bodhisattva ordination is complementary to, but does not replace or supersede, other renunciate or lay vows and precepts that a practitioner has taken up.[135]

The code of the bodhisattva is set forth in four major and forty-five minor rules, promulgated to ensure that the bodhisattva maintains an awareness of his/her formal enlightenment aspiration and acts with firm intention to help others. Many of the rules, therefore, contain both attitudinal and behavioural considerations, directing the aspirant's

attention to faults or misdemeanours that may arise in the course of applying the principles of the path of training in daily life.

Each of the rules is stated simply and followed with an elaboration that details degrees of error, qualities of affliction and instances of exceptions to the rule. It is due to the fact that the *śīla* chapter of the *BBH* is, in effect, a Mahāyāna bodhisattva's *Vinaya*, that this chapter becomes the most lengthy of the entire text.

The bodhisattva's code contains rules governing four main areas: general inter-personal and social relations, control of inner states and attitudes, attending to other's material needs, and proper conduct as a teacher, student and co-religionist. A summary of the bodhisattva code's rules, with these categories indicated, is given in Appendix B. The last-mentioned area, relating to the right conduct of teacher and student, involves nearly half the rules set forth in the code. The major theme underlying the rules in general, and the rules regarding teaching and learning in particular, relates directly to the bodhisattva's aspiration and commitment to help others in any way possible, but particularly by teachings (*dharmadāna*), material assistance (*amiṣadāna*), and protecting the lives and caring for the health of others. Abrogating this commitment through thought or deed means that one has given up the great aspiration that actually makes one a bodhisattva. This constitutes the fundmental "sin" in the Mahāyāna context.

The aspiration is the chief support for the bodhisattva's altruistic mental condition, thus the transgression of the rules is generally associated with deteriorations or flaws in the bodhisattva's attitude. The *BBH* mentions arrogance, enmity, resentment and

possessiveness in particular, as the main "anti-social" sentiments that obstruct the bodhisattva's mind and interfere with engaging in activities that can assist others.[136]

The rules governing the behaviour of teacher and student occupy a prominent place in the code's concerns, involving general and specific considerations. One concern reflected in the rules is with regard to withholding teachings from others. This is reflected in the second major rule, which remonstrates with a bodhisattva for not giving the two forms of assistance (material and *dharma* teaching) when able:

> "Though the means be in one's possession, due to excessive material attachment, hard-heartedly refusing to give material assistance to those who need it; and though able to do so, refusing to teach *dharma* to deserving persons due to stinginess."[137]

This is reinforced with three other minor rules that reflect the same concern: #7 stating that it is a fault to fail to teach the *dharma* to those who seek it, out of thoughts of enmity, resentment and envy;#9 stating that it is a fault to refuse to teach an aspect of *dharma* that one is capable of teaching, because it is not of personal interest; and #10, stating that it is a fault to not answer questions one is capable of answering.

The student's attitude towards receiving teaching is taken into account in several minor rules as well. These involve instances of antipathy to the teacher and teachings. Thus, #23 states that it is a fault not to receive instruction which is beneficial to mental equalibrium (i.e., meditation teaching) due to pride and enmity; and #32 which states that it is a fault to not attend teachings, discourses and religious discussions due to pride and

enmity. Rule #33 asserts that it is a fault to be discourteous, disrespectful, and sarcastic toward someone who is teaching the *dharma*.

The *BBH* also makes a point of reinforcing the fact that the Mahāyāna student is not solely concerned with teaching and learning the Mahāyāna path and expounding on the virtues of complete enlightenment. Thus rule #13 states that it is a fault for a bodhisattva to hold or espouse the view that the bodhisattva is not ultimately concerned with nirvāna, and #26 declares that it is a fault to hold or espouse the view that a bodhisattva should not be associated with, or train in the *śrāvaka* practices. Nonetheless, the priority is on the Mahāyāna, as rule #27 states that it is a fault to fail to apply oneself to the bodhisattva practices, while taking up the practices of the *śrāvakas*.

The final area of concern expressed with regard to teaching and learning has to do with the bodhisattva's commitment to the Mahāyāna and the proper preservation of the authentic doctrines of Buddhism. In the discussion of the problem of semblances in the preceding chapter, attention was drawn to the fourth major rule of the code, which states that it is a serious fault to repudiate the authentic bodhisattva teachings while espousing or creating semblances of Mahāyāna and propounding them as though they were authentic.[138] This is reinforced by three minor rules of a similar character.

Rule #28 states that it is a fault to be in possession of the Buddha's teachings, of whatever vehicle, yet still choose to apply oneself to studying the teachings of dissenters (*tīrthika*). Rule #29 declares that it is a fault to become proficient in the dissenters' teachings to the point that one takes inordinate pleasure and gratification in them.

Finally, rule #30 states that it is a fault to deny or disparage the bodhisattva teachings, whether this be from one's conviction or at the instigation of others.

These various rules and injunctions combine to set a general standard, and provide numerous details, that govern the bodhisattva novice's approach to learning the Buddhist doctrines and teaching them to others. These rules accord with the *BBH*'s emphasis on Mahāyāna described in chapter three, which maintains an open attitude to Buddhist teachings while reinforcing the need to be diligent in maintaining the authenticity of Mahāyāna in particular. The bodhisattva rules establish the practical connection with the altruistic aspiration for enlightenment. They represent, moreover, the expressed interest in the *BBH* to give clear and explicit directions to those who have taken up the Mahāyāna path.

The portrayal of the bodhisattva as a real person, who is fallible and still vulnerable to external influences and internal "changes of heart", is a compelling and important feature of the *BBH*. The fact that the novice bodhisattva is taken into consideration, particularly in his/her role as a teacher and student, reinforces the position taken in this study, that the *BBH* is addressing itself to an audience whose primary concern is education.

The bodhisattva doctrine portrayed in the *BBH* shows considerable development from its original beginnings in the early depictions of Gautama Buddha. This is not a devolution, however, despite the text's unique concern for the novice. Rather, it represents an attempt to systematize and correlate the exalted state of Buddhahood with

the fact that Siddhārtha Gautama was a human being, and that other human beings -- those with bodhisattva potential -- continue to be born and carry the seeds of enlightened completion in them. The novice is the *BBH*'s portrayal of what those beings are actually like in their nascent stage. The stages, perfections, practices and rules are all intended to inspire, direct and channel the bodhisattva potential and bring it to fruition in future greatness.

But enlightenment and the *Tathāgata* condition cannot be achieved through education in Buddhist doctrine alone, as the *BBH* also makes clear. Training in Buddhism must also be accompanied by studies in other areas that can help the bodhisattva become fully equipped to achieve the benefit of others. Discussion now turns to these broader dimensions of Buddhist education in Part Three.

PART III

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

CHAPTER FIVE

DHARMA AND THE FIVE SCIENCES

The studies prescribed in the *BBH* for the Mahāyāna student emphasise the mastery of Buddhist doctrine, especially the works of the *bodhisattvapiṭaka*. The *BBH* also refers to a broad range of studies suitable for the novice that includes Buddhist works, as well as materials from a wide range of non-Buddhist sources. This chapter will investigate the so-called "five sciences", which are referred to in the *BBH* and also in the accounts of Nālandā Mahāvihāra recorded by Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing. These sources will be used to explain the ways in which the concept of *dharma* has been expanded in the *BBH*.

It was established in Part One, chapter two that the *BBH* was studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra in the seventh century C.E.. The educational enterprise at Nālandā was both challenging and innovative, involving renunciates and laymen. The studies taken up there were diverse, with topics of general education being included with traditional Buddhist religious training. Hsüan-Tsang describes the breadth of the educational pursuits undertaken at Nālandā as follows:

> "The sangharamas [monasteries] of India are counted by myriads, but this [Nālandā] is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing therein) always reach to the number of 10,000, who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (works belonging to) the eighteen ["Hīnayāna"] sects;

> And not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the *Hetuvudyā* [Logic], *Śabdhavidyā* [Language Arts], the *Chikitsāvidyā* [Medicine], the works on Magic (*Artharvaveda*), the Sankhya (are studied); besides these they thoroughly investigate the 'miscellaneous works'."[1]

Prior to the development of the *mahāvihāra*, Buddhist monasteries were singularly dedicated to fostering the religious pursuits of their renunciate members. The environment at Nālandā Mahāvihāra was not traditional, however, and its innovative approach required new definitions of Buddhist religious and educational orientations.

It has been noted that the *BBH* assisted this with an expanded and broadly inclusive view of the bodhisattva who trained in Mahāyāna, at advanced stages, as well as the very beginning stages of learning. The realistic depiction of the beginning bodhisattva in the foregoing chapter is therefore an aspect of the *BBH*'s teachings with which Nālandā students would have become familiar.

The *BBH* also offered a broader conception of what it considered "religiously appropriate" learning, through an expanded interpretation of the term *dharma*, that validated non-Buddhist subjects taught at Nālandā Mahāvihāra. These are included in what are collectively called the "five sciences" (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*), and referred to in the *BBH*, as well as by Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing.

In order to provide a context for a discussion of this unique interpretation, the original priorities of traditional Buddhist monastic religious education will first be outlined, and the more usual applications of the term *dharma* explained.

A. *Dharma* and the Fives Sciences in the *BBH*

1. Traditional Monastic Educational Interests

Buddhist religious communities were formed during the Buddha's lifetime in the sixth century B.C.E. and they developed in the centuries after his death. Gautama Buddha originally propounded his religious teachings for individuals who had abandoned conventional family lives in order to engage in the quest for religious realization. Early Buddhist monasteries were therefore intentionally insular in character and by their very nature abjured involvement with worldly affairs.[2] The laity was aided by the monks' presence and example, and was even given regular opportunity to "make merit" and receive basic teachings, yet the unordained lived physically and conceptually removed from the purview of the monastic institution's primary life and concerns.[3]

The early Buddhist renunciates' religious discipline was distinctive in its exclusive dedication to Buddhist learning. Early Buddhism emphasised that the renunciate's path to liberation lay in listening to discourses on Buddhist doctrine and observing the principles set forth in them. This primary exposure was pursued further by reciting, memorizing and contemplating the Buddhist teaching.[4] Beyond this, the most important religious practice was meditation: applying oneself to attaining the many levels of Buddhist insight realization.[5]

Early monastic communities were thus primarily concerned with providing an environment for the study of the Buddhist teachings. Yet as they grew in size and social

complexity, there was also a need to organize and regulate the behaviour of community members. The rules of conduct and governance -- the *Vinaya* -- which developed as a consequence of this, became the second major area of Buddhist religious concern.[6] The formulations and procedures of the *Vinaya* became a subject of study for the Buddhist renunciate, on a par in importance with the discourses of the Buddha.[7]

Finally, not long after the Buddha's passing, monks began the process of organizing, digesting, analyzing and commenting on the Buddha's teachings. This resulted in the production of collections of Buddhist scholarly work called *Abhidhamma* and *Mātrika*.[8] The composition and study of these also became an important and uniquely Buddhist scholastic concern that was taken up in the early monastic institutions along with the renunciate's other Buddhist educational interests.

These study areas of the Buddha's teachings, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma*, together with meditation practice, are the traditional and unique combination of educational pursuits in Buddhism. Thus they hold the pre-eminent place in all notions of "Buddhist" learning and are what is generally referred as "the Buddhist doctrine" or simply "the *Dharma*". Even in the context of a new institutional environment like Nālandā, where Buddhist studies was augmented by non-Buddhist educational subjects, the traditional pursuits were neither displaced nor subordinated. They remained the core of studies and the chief area of knowledge to be mastered by anyone intent on a Buddhist religious career, as will be demonstrated shortly.

2. *Dharma*: Background and Usages

The Sanskrit word *dharma* is an ancient term having a wide range of meanings, uses and applications in Indian culture and civilization. The Sanskrit root of *dharma* is *dhṛ*, a verb with a primary sense of "holding", "supporting" and "maintaining". Derivative meanings of the root *dhṛ* embody such ideas as "preserving", "restraining", "possessing" and "practising".[9] *Dharma* thus connotes integration, order and engagement in a diversity of situations, activities and circumstances.

The main nominal form of the root *dhṛ* is *dharma*. The term *dharma*, in the sense of "carrying" or "bearing", is used on a scale ranging from the minutely particularistic, where *dharma* may be the term used for "atoms" of material existence which bear characteristics--all the way up to complete religious or cultural systems which support a traditions's ultimate spiritual significance and philosophical meaning.[10]

The oldest form of *dharma* - *dharman* - is found in the *Rig Veda*, where it is synonymous with the terms *ṛta* and *vrāta*, both meaning "law" or "fixed order".[11] In the *Rig Veda* and the Vedic tradition generally, *dharman* is used to indicate both the cosmic and the worldly moral orders, which are controlled by the Gods Mitra and Varuna.[12]

In social-cultural terms, *dharma* is used to convey the idea of custom or tradition, i.e., ideas or practices which uphold society, history or order.[13] *Dharma* in this regard also has application as a legal term[14], where it conveys notions of law, ordinance and statute.[15] In this same vein, *dharma* signifies duty and prescribed conduct. *Dharma*

used in this way conveys the sense of social "systems", organized matrices of personal and social conduct.[16]

Dharma has another sphere of significance of a religio-philosophic kind that overlaps with the social. At its widest level of meaning in this context, *dharma* can be translated simply as "religion".[17] The beliefs, rites, rituals and observances of persons or group is their "*Dharma*". In these broader terms, *dharma* also embraces the idea of piety which embodies virtue and production of merit. *Dharma* thus includes morality and righteousness, along with the various means used to express and uphold them.[18]

3. *Dharma* in Buddhism

The term *dharma* is employed liberally in all periods and schools of Buddhism, and the use of the word *dharma* in Buddhism ranges over the same wide scope of meanings that it does in Indian tradition generally.[19] *Dharma* is thus a flexible term with a wide variety of possible meanings, depending on the context. Connotations of *dharma* range from "Law", "Truth" and "Order" at one end of the scale, to "particles", "factors" and simply "things" at the other.[20]

Dharma can also be used in Buddhist contexts to signify conceptual unity ranging from total systems of cosmic integration, to comprehensive sets of Buddhist teachings, to individual doctrines within those sets of teachings, down to the minute and multiple items of psychical and physical category systems.[21] *Dharma* can even convey more abstract ideas such as love, conscience and will.[22] It is for these reasons that Edward

Conze noted that the use of the term *dharma* can be both "ambiguous and multivalent".[23]

There have been Buddhists in all ages who have sought to define and organize the various uses of *dharma* in their respective traditions. In the *Pali Canon* of the Theravāda school the entire corpus of the *Abdhidhamma* arose as a result of the need to organize the "special points" of *dharma*.[24] The Theravādin *Abhidhamma* is a condensation and itemization of the details of the Buddha's teaching as found in the *Sutta* and *Vinaya*.[25] Because of its contents, the *Abhidhamma*, in turn, is thought of as *dharma* and has been the object of intense interest, as well as veneration, for generations of Buddhist scholars.[26]

That the term *dharma* (Pali: *dhamma*) has a wide range of meanings and connotations in the Buddhist tradition has been evident since Western scholars began their work in the mid-1800's. *Dharma* in its most general sense conveyed for early researchers the general Indic notions of truth, order, law, duty, and custom.[27] Tachibana stressed the Buddhist use of the term as an extension of the ideas of "righteousness and justice", stating that *dhamma* "is analagous to or at least closely connected with *śīla* or morality."[28]

In addition to these broader meanings, *dharma/dharmas* are used in the enumeration of specific elements in Buddhist classification systems and sets of characteristics. It is in this context and usage that T. Stcherbatsky called *dharma* "the

central conception of Buddhism", and saw the enumeration of *dharmas*, as central to the Buddhist doctrine of "selflessness" (*anātman*).[29]

The most thorough and exhaustive study of the Buddhist use of the term *dhamma*, the Pāli language equivalent of *dharma*, was completed by Wilhelm and Magdelene Geiger in 1920. The Geigers' *Pali Dhamma* is a collation of all references to, and uses of, the word *dhamma* in the Pali literature, including the *piṭakas* and the later commentaries.[30] It is an important work and an indispensible aid to the concept of *dhamma*. Most of what it contains applies as a quide to all other branches of Indian Buddhism.

The Geigers' research noted traditional classifications of the term *dhamma* according to Buddhaghosa and other Theravādin scholars. They presented their study in five major categories, each with a number of sub-categories. In addition to these major categories, there were a number of lesser groupings of "miscellaneous" meanings.[31]

The five major categories of meaning for *dhamma*, with their corresponding Pali terms are: 1. *guna*: "quality, ability, virtue" 2. *desana*: "teaching, sermon" 3. *hetu*: "cause" 4. *pariyatti*: "holy, canonical text" 5. *nissatta*: "inanimate thing, item". Under these major categories, the Geigers were able to suggest more than 50 German terms as appropriate translations of *dhamma*.[32]

Edward Conze, taking these dimensions and others into account and following Stcherbatsky's line of argument, also offered a comprehensive analysis of the term *dharma* under seven headings that showed its "philosophical importance".[33] Conze felt

the chief significance of *dharma* was in its use as a term to identify the process whereby intellect, through wisdom, arrives at the clear discrimination between that which is "real" (ultimately existent), and that which is "common sense" (the conditioned).[34]

Attempting to define the term *dharma* has thus given rise to extensive scholarly discourse.[35] Though particular meanings and nuances of *dharma* in Sanskrit or Pali texts may be apparent to a person who can read them in the original, they are not always able to be rendered directly and consistently into English language usage. Many scholars have explored and discussed the meaning(s) of *dharma*, as has been noted, but no standardised terminology has yet been developed.

4. *Dharma* in the *BBH*

The fact that *dharma* has such a wide range of possible uses suggests that its meanings must be carefully noted and considered in any given text. Indeed, the importance of accurately interpreting the meanings attributed to *dharma* in a text cannot be overestimated. D.T. Suzuki, in noting the crucial importance of properly understanding the circumstances and use of the term *dharma* stated that: "there are passages in Mahāyāna literature in which the whole significance of the text depends upon how we understand the word *dharma*".[36] Suzuki might well have had the *BBH* in mind when he wrote this.

Dharma is used in over one hundred nominal compound formulations in the *BBH*. Some uses occur frequently, others occasionally, still others only once. A list of

citations of compound terms involving *dharma* can been found in Appendix A.[37] It is thus evident that the *BBH* employs *dharma* in the wide variety of ways that is common with Buddhist texts generally.

In the *BBH*, as in other Buddhist texts, when *dharma* is used to refer to religion and religious practice, it is the Buddhist teachings that are intended first and foremost. This study has already considered one important compound which demonstrates this fact, the concept of *saddharma* or "true teaching". It has been determined that *saddharma* in the *BBH*, when used in its broadest sense, signifies all branches of Buddhism. When used to refer to the *BBH*'s teaching on bodhisattva's development, *saddharma* signifies the path of practice (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*).

5. *Dharma* and the Five Sciences

There is an unusual and irregular use of the term *dharma* in the *BBH*, which represents an innovative application that embraces not only traditional Buddhist teachings, but also non-Buddhist subjects of study. This application is found in two passages in *BBH* I:viii that describe *dharma* in terms of the five sciences (*pañcavidyā*) of: philosophy (*adhyātmavidyā*), [38] language (*śabdavidyā*), logic (*hetuvidyā*), medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*) and arts/crafts (*śilpakarmavidyā*). This definition is unique and conveys with it a sense of the breadth of learning that was possible at Nālandā Mahāvihāra.

In describing literacy and learning in India at the time of his stay, Hsüan-Tsang recounts that each province had an official scribe who kept a detailed written record of

its local history. These records, called *Nilapita* ("Blue Annals"), contained the accounts of the "good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences" of the region.[39] Hsüan-Tsang also noted that five *vidyā* (sciences) were studied in the form of *śāstra* texts deemed of great importance. He summarizes the five sciences rather briefly and incompletely as follows:

> "*Śabdhavidyā* [science of language]... is called the elucidation of sounds. This treatise explains and illustrates the agreement (concordance) of words and it provides an index of derivatives....
>
> *Śilpasthānavidyā* [science of arts]...treats of the arts, mechanics, explains the principles of the 'feminine and masculine' and the calendar....
>
> The medicinal treatise [*Cikitsāvidyā*].. embraces formulae for protection, secret charms, (the use of) medicinal stones, acupuncture and mugwort...
>
> The *Hetuvidyā* (science of causes treatise)... relates to the determination of the true and false and reduces to their last terms the definition of right and wrong...
>
> The science of 'the interior' [*Adhyātmavidyā*]... relates to the five vehicles, their causes and consequences and the subtle influences of these."[40]

Hsüan-Tsang also mentions that the brahmins studied the four Vedas and he gives a very brief and incomplete outline of what is contained in each of them.[41]

The *BBH*, though it does not name specific texts, gives a more complete idea of the extent of study in the five sciences. Moreover, it discusses why each is important to the bodhisattva. The text first of all notes that the bodhisattva develops "strong determination" to practice and then seeks out and engages in *dharma*:

> "A bodhisattva should have strong determination in the very beginning by wishing to engage in practices, and then should act by seeking *dharma*, teaching *dharma*, accomplishing in accord with *dharma*, abiding through right guidance and precepts, with action of body, speech, and mind directed by method. "[42]

The *BBH* goes on to explain what it means by *dharma* in this context, dividing it into general categories:

> "When the bodhisattva seeks *dharma*, what is sought? In what manner is it sought? In brief, the bodhisattva seeks the collection of bodhisattva scriptures and the collection of the listeners' scriptures; the teachings of non-Buddhists and the worldly subjects of arts and crafts." [43]

These general divisions are further explained, indicating how the Buddhist materials are to be divided into their own sub-sections:

> "To categorize the basis of that (first division), the expansive-section of the twelve sections of scripture is the Bodhisattva Basket, and all the rest are known as the Disciples' Basket."[44]

The non-Buddhist materials are classified under four headings, three of which are specifically stated as being the texts of "others", while the fourth is a general category:

> "The *śāstras* of others are, briefly, of three types: *śāstras* of logic, language, and medicine.
>
> The worldly subjects of arts and crafts are numerous and diverse: the skills of goldsmithing, blacksmithing, lapidary, etc."[45]

The *BBH* then makes the point that all of these studies, including the Buddhist texts, are what the bodhisattva seeks to learn. The Buddhist texts are that part of the section designated as philosophy (*adhyātmavidyā*). The *BBH* concludes:

> "All of these are included in the five sciences of philosophy, logic, language, medicine, and arts and crafts. Since these five sciences include

> what is sought by the Bodhisattva, they seek these five sciences.
>
> The Buddha's 'word' is called the '*śāstras* of philosophy'. These are engaged in, along with rest, up to (and including) worldly arts and crafts."[46]

The study of each of the five sciences is deemed to have a number of purposes, which are the same in some instances. There are two sections in the *BBH* that discuss these. One section explains the bodhisattva's reason for involvement in the five sciences, the other explains why he seeks to listen to teachings on the five sciences.[47] These sections are complementary and are therefore combined here in discussion of the respective categories.

The philosophical science (*adhyātmavidyā*), i.e., Buddhist textual studies, is engaged in for scholarly and religious reasons, and for the protection and spread of the Buddhist teachings.[48] The bodhisattva is stated to be involved in the study of Buddhist scriptures "for true understanding of cause and result and for preservation (of Buddhism) and prevention (of its decay/decline)".[49] The bodhisattva seeks to listen to the "Buddha's word" in order to be able to effectively "accomplish according to *dharma* and in order to teach others truly and extensively".[50]

Language studies (*śabdavidyā*) have the goal of developing the bodhisattva's knowledge of grammar and equipping him with the ability to teach and inspire others' confidence. The *BBH* states that a bodhisattva "explains the derivation and forms of words and their roots, and shows the benefit of proper grammar".[51] The bodhisattva also seeks the science of language in order to "inspire confidence in those individuals

who are intent on learning detailed composition through understanding etymologies, words and roots."[52] The bodhisattva also seeks to "penetrate the particular meaning of various words and their common usage",[53] in order to understand and explain them.

Mastery of the science of logic (*hetuvidyā*) is particularly important in the bodhisattva's course of training as it endows him with the ability to clearly explain Buddhist teachings and show up the faults of other doctrinal positions. Thus the *BBH* states that understanding the teachings of logic has the benefit of helping to "defend against the attacks of others".[54] By understanding logic, one also achieves the benefit of "convincing others to free themselves from other systems".[55]

The bodhisattva also seeks to master the science of logic in order to correct those teachings that have been "improperly expressed and poorly presented"[56] and to encourage others by "creating faith in those who are without faith in the Buddhist teaching, and increasing the faith of those that have it".[57]

The study of medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*) involves the study of four related areas: the skills of diagnosis; the skill of (knowing) the origins of disease; the skills of treatment; and the skills in the prevention of relapse.[58] A bodhisattva is stated to seek the medical teachings in order to "relieve various illnesses and for the sake of benefitting the great mass of people."[59]

Finally, the science of arts and crafts (*śilpakarmavidyā*) is studied in order to instruct others in perfecting "arts and crafts that one has mastered oneself."[60] The bodhisattva also seeks knowledge of arts and crafts for three other purposes: "to

accumulate wealth easily for the sake of others, in order to create a good reputation amongst others, and for the purpose of benefitting others and attracting them by sharing knowledge of arts and crafts."[61]

There are thus several recurrent themes in the *BBH*'s emphasis on the five sciences. Clearly a major reason for the bodhisattva to study the sciences is to preserve, protect and defend Buddhism. He does this not only by knowing the Buddhist scriptures well, but also by being able to explain and analyze any text grammatically. He is also able to discuss philosophical positions through the skilled application of logic.

A second theme associated with this is the emphasis on a bodhisattva's good reputation and the role this has in attracting others to Buddhism. The bodhisattva's learning is a major asset in this regard and gives him a persuasive demeanor, while bringing him honour and respect.

A third theme is the role that knowledge plays in helping others. While philosophy, language and logic are useful in a metaphysical way, skills in medicine and the arts and crafts have a direct material application. One can alleviate physical distress with medicine, and alleviate material distress with training in occupations that can provide a gainful living.

6. Constraints on the Five Sciences

The study of the five sciences, though enjoined on the bodhisattva, is nonetheless regulated in the *BBH* by cautionary statements that indicate limits one should impose on

oneself, particularly with regard to the study of non-Buddhist religious texts. The *BBH* also notes that respect for teachings is essential and warns that one must actively guard against pride and arrogance that arise as knowledge increases.

In the morality chapter there are several references to the way in which the bodhisattva should relate to the study of "outsider's" texts. Two rules apply to this activity:

> "If the bodhisattva has the [scriptures] of the Buddha's word, but does not study them, applying himself instead to the texts of the dissenters[62] and outsiders (*tīrthikaśāstreṣu bahihśāstreṣu*), he is possessed of fault and contradiction and an afflicted fault results.
>
> It is not a fault, if he is very judicious, quick of understanding, capable of not forgetting over a long period, (etc.) and as long as he makes twice as much daily application to the exalted word of the Buddha."[63]

In the next rule in the morality section, however, there is further remonstration for those that follow even the foregoing instruction:

> "If the bodhisattva, though he does not transgress this (previous) advice, becomes skilled in the texts of dissenters and outsiders, taking pleasure in them and being gladdened thereby, not resorting to them merely as one would to medicine for an illness, then he is possessed of a fault which is contradictory and afflictive."[64]

The morality chapter also refers to the way in which the bodhisattva should conduct himself in the presence of any dissenters who are seeking teaching. For example, though it is a fault to fail to teach doctrine to those who seek it properly, if the request comes from a dissenter who is seeking an opportunity to challenge the teachings, he should be denied.[65] Though a bodhisattva is at fault if he does not provide for and instruct his following properly, if one of the group is previously a dissenter and has come

to "steal from the *dharma*" and has a nature that cannot be disciplined, then not providing for that person is not a fault.[66] Similarly, if a bodhisattva does not comply with a dissenter's requests for teaching in order to discipline him, it is not a fault.[67]

7. Attitudes of the Student Bodhisattva

The bodhisattva's proper attitude to a teacher is deemed to be essential for effective learning and there are numerous sections of the *BBH* that discourse on the teacher-student relationship. With respect to the bodhisattva's general attitude toward hearing discourses, the following quote is representative of the *BBH*'s view:

> "Having respect for good speech (the bodhisattva) is not fatigued or complacent when listening to it: he is faithful, alert, with vital personality and sincere attitude.
>
> Wishing for good qualities and *dharma*, he approaches *dharma*-teachings without an overly critical attitude. He is not inflated with pride in such respectful behavior. He is not after his own fame in seeking virtue, nor is he after profit/wealth and respect/status in applying himself to his own and others' roots of virtue.
>
> Thus through this approach he listens to *dharma* without manifest affliction and distraction."'[68]

The bodhisattva strives to maintain this mentality when he is attending to *dharma* and resists any feeling of negativity when listening to teachings. Contempt is as serious a fault as pride and is to be expressly guarded against both in attitudes towards others and in one's view of oneself.

> "The bodhisattva is free from the manifest affliction of contempt in these four: attending respectfully to *dharma*, attending respectfully to the person teaching *dharma*, lack of contempt for *dharma*, and lack of contempt for the person teaching *dharma*.
>
> He is free from the manifest affliction of disheartenment by listening, without contempt for himself. Thus the Bodhisattva listens to *dharma* without manifest affliction."[69]

Finally, though the bodhisattva may himself be well-versed in grammar, logic, etc., it is not always the case that others are similarly equipped. It is noted in the *BBH* that this should not make any difference to the bodhisattva's approach to teachings or the teacher:

> "How does a Bodhisattva apply himself to the four reliances? The Bodhisattva hears *dharma* from another out of interest in the meaning, not in the grammatical combinations of letters.
>
> Because he listens to *dharma* out of interest in the meaning and not in the letters, whenever *dharma* is taught in ordinary language, the bodhisattva relying on the meaning listens respectfully."[70]

8. Education's Ultimate Goal

Given the social context of Nālandā at which the five sciences were studied and taught, one might be tempted to render *dharma* as "curriculum". While this would be appropriate in one respect, in other respects it would require significant qualification. From a conventional point of view, engagement in the five sciences clearly includes "mundane" subjects intended to be applied to worldly ends. From another perspective, however, the five sciences are viewed as an integral part of the uniquely Mahāyāna

Buddhist religious process of striving to become fully enlightened, as a *Tathāgata* Buddha.

As has been explained previously, the bodhisattva path of training in the *BBH* attempts to realistically portray the course of Mahāyāna spiritual progress to complete and perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). That state is also depicted as a personal archetype, the *Tathāgata* Buddha, who is possessed of all practical and theoretical knowledge. He is "all-knowing" (*sarvajñā*) in the most literal sense of the word.

The *BBH* recognizes that such immense knowledge is gained through study and practice over a vast period of time. It is also understood that knowledge is not acquired miraculously or vicariously. It is learned directly and personally. For example, if a Buddha knows everything about grammar, poetry, or the doctrines of other religions, it is not because he can somehow "see" the nature of language or "intuit" the qualities of a writer or a concept, but because he has spent time studying such matters in this and a number of previous births. The *BBH* is therefore quite clear about the overall purpose of engaging in the five sciences. The religious rationale for the study of these subjects is succinctly stated in the following passage:

> "The bodhisattva seeks all of these five subjects of science in order to accomplish the great accumulation of knowledge for complete, perfect enlightenment. If he does not learn all of them, he will not eventually achieve the removal of the obstruction to all-knowledge."[71]

Furthermore, it is also acknowledged that the essential purpose in studying the five sciences revolves directly around certain priorities that the bodhisattva accepts:

> "The goal (of study) is peerless enlightenment. The method of attainment is all the bodhisattva's paths of practice. And likewise (the bodhisattva) has determination toward excellent exposition, excellent expression, and excellent communication in the *dharma* of the *sūtra*, hymnal, revelation-sections, etc. [and other Buddhist scripture]."[72]

Thus the pursuit of the study of the five sciences is validated and given sanction by the ends to which it is put. In the immediate context it develops the bodhisattva both intellectually and in terms of his reputation. The pursuit of knowledge also helps other individuals in many ways and serves to protect and foster the *saddharma*. In the long run, all that is learned in the pursuit of the five sciences stays with a person from life to life and in the end matures in the condition of omniscience, as a *Tathāgata*.

B. The Five Sciences at Nālandā

1. I-Tsing on the Five Sciences

The importance of the five sciences at Nālandā Mahāvihāra is corroborated by the accounts of both Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing, though the latter gives more detailed information. I-Tsing's account describes how one engaged in the study of the sciences of language and logic and it identifies a number of texts used in these studies. It also can help in a partial reconstruction of the curriculum that was followed.

I-Tsing had a great respect and admiration for scholastic learning that is summed up in a short statement of praise for the power of the Buddha's teaching. I-Tsing believed that "one single utterance of the Great Sage (Buddha) comprises all (languages throughout) the 'three thousand' worlds".[73] Yet I-Tsing believed that to be able to understand the Buddha's original utterances properly, and follow what he taught, one must have a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and know "the seven cases and nine personal-terminations".[74]

I-Tsing deemed in-depth knowledge of language and its use to be of the utmost importance in achieving realization of Buddhist goals:

> "Expression in words causes a man to develop his intellect according to his various circumstances and mental faculties. It leads a man from perplexity into conformity with truth, and secures him perfect quietude (i.e., *nirvāṇa*)."[75]

I-Tsing included a description of the levels of study and titles of the *śāstras* used in Sanskrit language training in India. He notes that grammatical science is called "*Śabdhavidyā*, one of the five sciences", and general secular literature in India is "*Vyākarana*".[76] He goes on to name and outline the contents of a number of Sanskrit language texts that were used by the student.[77]

Speaking of foreign students who came to study Buddhism in India, I-Tsing notes that they first of all ought to learn the grammatical works of Panini, otherwise "their labour will be thrown away".[78] All the books on grammar must be "learnt by heart", though this only applies to "men of high talent", while for those of medium or little

ability a different method must be taken according to their wishes.[79] The diligent student must "study hard day and night, without letting a moment pass for idle repose".[80]

I-Tsing indicates that the learning of language arts (*śabdavidyā*) and logic (*hetuvidyā*) were closely connected. After studying the grammar of the *Vritti sūtra*, students then learned prose and verse composition while devoting themselves to logic (*hetuvidyā*) and Buddhist metaphysics (*Abhidharmakośa*).[81] The particularly gifted studied an introduction to logic by Nāgārjuna and the literary stylistics of Āryasura's *Jātakamāla*.[82] These subjects were studied equally by laymen and renunciates.[83]

After instruction for two or three years students were apparently capable of expounding on a range of topics.[84] At Nālandā there were gatherings of "eminent men" who assembled in crowds, "to discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men become famed for their wisdom".[85] Having apparently first prepared themselves at the Mahāvihāra, those with hopes of attaining a government position presented themselves at court to demonstrate their prowess. I-Tsing recounts the following:

> "To try the sharpness of their wit (lit.'sharp point of the sword'), they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon (of their abilities); there they present their schemes and show their talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government."[86]

Beyond this level of general learning, "advanced scholars" carried on with studies in grammar and logic. The works of Bhartrihari, and commentaries on them, were a

major subject of study.[87] Having mastered the materials on grammar and literature up to this point, one became known as "*Bahuśruta*", literally. "one who has heard much".[88] This too was a level attainable by both laymen and monastics.[89]

2. Buddhist Religious Training

I-Tsing gives a general outline of the progress of a Buddhist monk at Nālandā and emphasises the importance of a number of works that were studied in monasteries for more than their purely religious value. Matriceta's hymns to the Buddha, for example, were taught to monks of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools "as soon as (they) could recite the five and ten (ordination) precepts".[90] He notes that "even men like the Bodhisattvas Asanga and Vasubandhu admired [Matriceta] greatly".[91] I-Tsing mentions that there were six reasons for learning and reciting Matriceta's hymns; only one is actually of an expressly religious nature:

> "First, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound virtues. Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly, they ensure purity of language. Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, by reciting them nervousness in an assembly is overcome. Sixthly, by their use life is prolonged, free from disease."[92]

I-Tsing notes that it is after one is able to recite these verses of praise that one proceeds to learn other *sūtras*. Furthermore he mentions that many commentaries, imitations and expansions of these verses have been made by later scholars.[93]

A number of other works are mentioned for their literary qualities. The *Suhṛllekha* ("*Letter to Gautamiputra*") by Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna is praised for the

teachings that it contains and the "striking beauty" of its writing style.[94] The *Jātakamāla* is again mentioned as a special object of study, whose object is to teach "the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers".[95] I-Tsing judges the Jātaka motif to be "the most beautiful (favorite) theme for laudatory poems",[96] for not only do monks and laymen recite the *Jātakamāla*, but kings and officials compose their own poems based on birth-story themes, sometimes even for musical accompaniment and theatrical performance.[97]

In this connection, I-Tsing also refers to the works of the poet Aśvaghoṣa, and particularly to the *Buddhacārita*, which recounts the life and deeds of Gautama Buddha.[98] He notes that this poem in "widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India", and that "manifold meanings and ideas" are clothed in a few words, which "rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem".[99] Besides these devotional and literary masterpieces, the monks also learned the various *Vinaya* works and investigated the *sūtras* and *śāstras*.[100]

I-Tsing also notes that the learned Buddhist monks "oppose the heretics as they would drive beasts (deer) in the middle of a plain, and explain away disputations as boiling water melts frost".[101] In this manner, the Buddhist monks become "famous throughout Jambudvipa (India), receive respect above gods and men, and serving under the Buddha and promoting His doctrine, they lead all the people (to *nirvaṇa*)".[102]

In referring to the great masters, such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, et.al., I-Tsing notes that they too had studied all the sciences and comments that "none of these great teachers

was lacking in any of those kinds of qualities of knowledge, secular or sacred".[103] In speaking about the aspiring students of his own time, I-Tsing notes that once they have mastered the basic training, they hope to emulate these masters of the past and champion their doctrines:

> "To those who learn the doctrines of 'existence' and 'non-existence', the Tripitaka itself will be their Master, while for those who practice the *dhyāna* (meditation) and *prajñā* (wisdom), the seven *bodhi-angas* will be the guide...
>
> When they have understood the arguments of *hetuvidyā* (logic) they aspire to be like Jīna (the logician); while tasting the doctrine of Yogācārya they zealously search into the theory of Asaṅga..
>
> When they discourse on the 'non-existence' they cleverly imitate Nāgārjuna; whilst when treating of the 'existence', they thoroughly fathom the teaching of Saṅghabhadra."[104]

3. Medical Practice

I-Tsing devoted three chapters of his account of Buddhism to a discussion of medicine, stating that he had successfully completed medical studies, but had given up medical practice.[105] He does not indicate that medical studies were a required subject for monk or layman at Nālandā, but does refer to medical science as "one of the five sciences of India".[106] An analysis of I-Tsing's account by J. Takakusu, corroborated by a specialist in Indian medical practice, indicates that I-Tsing had studied the traditional medical system of the Ayurveda, though he doesn't use the term.[107]

There is some question as to whether the Nālandā members actually engaged in medical practice at the Mahāvihāra. There are no archaeological remains indicating that there was a clinic or apothecary on the Nālandā campus. Neither I-Tsing nor Hsüan-Tsang state whether they gave or received treatment there. It is likewise unclear whether medical practice was a role for a monk, a layman or both.

It is clear from the references to medical practice in the *BBH* that medical study was a suitable vocation for the bodhisattva as it provided assistance to others. In the morality chapter, there are a number of references to the bodhisattva's involvement with helping others as a nurse. The bodhisattva, in providing assistance to others, "ministers to the suffering and nurses beings stricken with illness".[108] In addition he provides requisites, including medicine for those he has gathered in his following.[109] It is stated in this connection that it is a fault if he does not provide such medicinal requisites for his following.[110]

There are no references in the *BBH* to the preparation of drugs and tonics, surgery, or specific types of care for illnesses, though it is interesting to note that the use of mantra is enjoined as a means of removing various kinds of illnesses arising from imbalance of the "elements".[111]

I-Tsing, however, shows an extensive knowledge of medical practice, indicating that he studied it closely. He refers to "eight sections of medical science" that were once contained in separate "bundles", which at his time had been condensed into one (unnamed) text.[112] I-Tsing notes that "all physicians in the five parts of India practise

by this book" and that if a physician is well-versed in the text, he "never fails to live by the official pay".[113] He also states that physicians were greatly honoured in India because they did not "injure life", and that they gave relief to others while benefiting themselves. [114]

I-Tsing's discussion of medical arts includes a summary of herbs and other pharmacological information, as well as a description of a range of diseases and afflictions that can beset a person.[115] He also outlines the treatment of various conditions, based on diet, medicinal compounds and tinctures, herbs and decoctions.[116] Fasting is given a particularly strong endorsement as a first step in any course of treatment.[117]

I-Tsing in several instances compares medical practices in India, China and "the islands of the Southern Sea" (where he composed his travel account), noting differences in diagnostics and treatments. One area he comments on is the differences amongst the Buddhist schools on the use of urine as a medicine.[118] I-Tsing expresses concern over the use of harmful and ineffective medicinal decoctions containing "impure filth" -- the waste products of animals -- which was apparently wide-spread in India, simply because such preparations were the least expensive.[119] He notes that people use money lavishly on unnecessary things and fail to set aside money to pay for proper medicine when such a need arises. [120]

The debilitating effect of poor health on one's religious study and practice is the example I-Tsing employs to emphasise the importance of maintaining good health. I-

Tsing imagines that those who are learning *sūtras* and *śāstras* will forever grieve if they are left "simply gazing at the *Tripiṭaka*,"not being able to study because of ill health".[121] He sees that those who have engaged in meditation (literally "tranquillising of thought") will "long be sighing" if they are ill, thinking of the meditation states they can not attain.[122] He asks rhetorically: " Is it not a sad thing that sickness prevents the pursuit of one's duty and vocation?" and answers this question with another: " Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves by the study of medicine?". [123]

I-Tsing mentions that he was in good health throughout his life and years of travel.[124] He also has an approach to medical science that is remarkably pragmatic for a man of religion. While he is a Buddhist who acknowledges the law of karma in life and clearly sees value in prayer and ritual, he also puts great stock in medicine, for he says:

> "(As) there is indeed no trouble in feeling the pulse (to obtain a diagnosis of one's condition); what use is it, then, to enquire one's fate of a diviner? Each man is himself king of physicians and anyone can be a Jīvaka.[125]" [126]

4. The Outcome of Learning and Study

It is revealing to hear how Hsüan-Tsang describes the teaching process and the rewards of learning the five sciences. He relates that for individuals to be good teachers, they must themselves be well-studied. He states:

> "(good teachers) have closely studied the deep and secret principles [that the texts] contain and penetrated their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense and guide their pupils in understanding words that are difficult. They urge them on and skillfully conduct them."[127]

Good teachers are not only learned, they are also examples, motivators and guides. Hsüan-Tsang notes that teachers "add lustre to (the students') poor knowledge and stimulate the despondent. If they find their pupils satisfied with their acquirements [of learning] and so wish to escape to attend to their worldly duties, they then use means to keep them in their power".[128]

There are some who wish to take up a position in the secular world, and thus "when students have finished their education and have attained thirty years of age, then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation they first of all thank their master for his attention".[129]

A few others are destined to become scholars of great renown. Hsüan-Tsang refers to such persons as those who are "deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies and live apart from the world and retain the simplicity of their character".[130] Such individuals rise above the normal affairs and standards of ordinary life. They are equally "insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world."

Hsüan-Tsang notes that the fame of such men spreads far and wide and though rulers would like to have them in their service (literally, "draw them to court"), they cannot.[131] Moreover, "the chief of the country honours them on account of their (mental) gifts and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage". The

reason for this adulation is that scholars devote themselves to their studies with "ardour and resolution, without any sense of fatigue".[132] Thus, rather than sacrificing their time in the service of the king, such men choose to "search for wisdom, relying on their own resources".[133]

5. Jāyasena: the Learned Layman

An example of a person who embodies these virtues of learning is the Buddhist scholar Jāyasena, a householder with whom Hsüan-Tsang studied in India.[134] Jāyasena himself had studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra and was a "writer of *śāstras*" with a mastery over many areas of knowledge. He had learned the works on logic (*hetuvidyā śāstra*) with Bhadraruchi, works on the language arts (*śabdavidyā śāstra*) with Sthitamati, and *YBH* ("*yogaśāstra*") under Śīlabhadra. In addition, Jāyasena was learned in four Vedas, astronomy and geography, medicinal art, magic and arithmetic.[135]

Hsüan-Tsang notes that the layman had "completely mastered these (subjects) from beginning to end..... ..exhausted these inquiries root,(leaf) and branch.... studied them both within and without".[136] As a result, Jāyasena's learning made him "the admiration of the period".

Hsüan-Tsang recounts that the Magadhan king Pūrṇavarma "had great respect for learned men, and honoured those distinguished as sages" and was so impressed with the reputation of Jāyasena that he offered him the revenue of twenty large towns to come to court and be the king's "Master of the Kingdom".[137] Jāyasena declined Pūrṇavarma's

offer and thereafter king Śīladitya invited Jāyasena to be the "Master" of his realm, offering him the revenue of eighty large towns in Orissa as his salary.[138]

Jāyasena refused this generous offer also and according to Hsüan-Tsang said to the king "He who receives the emoluments of the world also is troubled with the concerns of life; but now my object is to teach the urgent character of the fetters of birth and death; how is it possible then to find leisure to acquaint myself with the concerns of the king?"[139]

Hsüan-Tsang records that thereafter Jāyasena did not leave his home near Nālandā, where he had a large number of monks and laymen (Hsüan Tsang says "several hundred") over whom he "took charge, teaching and leading them on to persevere, and expounding the books of Buddha".[140] Hsüan-Tsang remained with Jāyasena "first and last [during his stay in India] for two years", studying Buddhist scriptures and logic.[141]

6. Monastic Debate

It is also instructive to learn from Hsüan-Tsang the manner in which monks of different traditions advanced their positions through their vast knowledge and skills in debate. He notes that "the different (Buddhist) schools are constantly at variance and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea".[142] Though the different sects had "separate masters", they were nonetheless basically in accord for though they are "in various directions, (they) aim at one end".[143]

The most highly respected monks were those who were most learned in the texts of their own and others' schools. As a master increased in his knowledge, his prowess was recognized by his monastery. He would receive larger accommodations, be allotted attendants, and eventually have an elephant carriage and a permanent escort![144] Hsüan-Tsang gives an interesting account of what was involved in earning this kind of recognition:

> "When a man's renown has reached to a high distinction, then at different times he convokes an assembly for discussion. He judges of the superior or inferior talent of those who take part; he distinguishes their good or bad points; he praises the clever and reproves the faulty;
>
> if one of the assembly distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, deep penetration and severe logic, then he is mounted on an elephant covered with precious ornaments and conducted by a numerous suite to the gates of the convent."[145]

If a monk is defeated in debate, his treatment is far less elegant:

> "If on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses poor and inelegant phrases, or if he violates a rule in logic and adapts his words accordingly, they proceed to disfigure his face with red and white, and cover his body with dirt and dust and then carry him off to some deserted spot or leave him in a ditch."[146]

Hsüan-Tsang states that this is the way the contenders "distinguish between the meritorious and the worthless, between the wise and the foolish". [147]

The studies at Nālandā and the description of the five sciences in the *BBH* offer new dimensions in the interpretation of *dharma*. Though it would be incorrect to call all of the subjects included in the sciences "religious education", the rationale for

including non-Buddhist subjects nonetheless rests ultimately on Buddhist religious principles, albeit extended in novel ways.

The motivation to engage in the five sciences, though harnessed to bodhisattva altruism, does not lose sight of the institutional needs of the Buddhist religious establishment. Protecting and fostering the Buddhist doctrine is clearly one of the primary mandates of *dharma* education, as is attracting students to, and spreading the reputation of, the Buddhist teaching institutions. One of the intentions expressed both by the Chinese travellers and the *BBH*, is that even those who wish only to train in the more secular aspects of *dharma* may convert to, or at least be won over to the support of, Buddhism. The use of Buddhist literature, for example, to learn the elements of grammar and good composition style, would have served a double purpose of language arts training and fostering an appreciation and inclination for Buddhist ideas.

There were clearly levels of academic achievement in the studies at Nālandā that served to qualify individuals for civil service and professional positions. Though this purpose of education was united with the more strictly Buddhist religious training, it was distinct from it. This, aligned with the diversity of studies at Nālandā, is the reason that it can be called a university. Regrettably there is little direct evidence indicating which so-called "arts and crafts" were taken up, and how they were practiced. Instruction in these areas, as with medicine, appears to have been text-based at Nālandā. Whether there was actual training, perhaps by apprenticeship in nearby villages, in medicine,

gold-smithing or lapidary, and the other many topics referred to in the *BBH*, is not mentioned by the Chinese travellers.

Education in Buddhist religious studies, however, takes precedence in the context of its application, and in the *BBH* text. Buddhist institutional needs are moreover secondary, at least in theory, to ultimate goals which motivate the practice of Buddhism. Discussion now turns to the topics of *prajñā* and *bodhi* in the *BBH* which embody these higher goals.

CHAPTER 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEARNING AND SAGACITY

The bodhisattva's studies in the traditional and non-traditional aspects of the five sciences are part of the larger undertaking of knowledge acquisition for enlightenment accomplishment. In taking up and practising the path, the bodhisattva is engaged in these studies in the context of developing the perfections as well. Complete enlightenment requires that mental faculties above and beyond attentiveness and memory be exercised to achieve a sophisticated integration of insight, knowledge and experience. This integration is well-expressed in the term *prajñā*, which like *dharma*, has a unique definition and expanded dimensions in the *BBH*. This chapter will investigate the way the *BBH* uses the term *prajñā* to portray wisdom and sagacity in its teachings.

1. General Usage of *Prajñā* in the *BBH*

Prajñā is a term found in all traditions of Buddhism, and generally, though not exclusively, translated as "wisdom". *Prajñā* denotes what could be termed "liberation-oriented insight", which arises primarily as a result of rigorous mental training. The most common connotations of *prajñā* emphasize its dimensions of metaphysical "insight" into, and "higher knowledge" of, a number of related Buddhist "truths".

Prajñā in the *BBH* includes knowledge and insight derived from meditation practice and scriptural study, as well as from other forms of learning and activity not commonly thought of as Buddhist, or even as particularly religious. *Prajñā* is directly associated with mastering the *saddharma*, but also with engagement in the *dharma* of the five sciences. *Prajñā* as portrayed in the *BBH* unifies and integrates the most advanced level of metaphysical insight with the more basic levels of practical learning and personal conduct.

Prajñā and its perfection (*prajñāpāramitā*) are depicted in the *BBH* as knowledge and understanding applied to enhance one's personal progress toward liberation and to alleviate the suffering of others. *Prajñā* therefore relies on actively pursuing learning activities and objectives relevant to both secular/worldly concerns and religious/spiritual ones.

The term *prajñā* is not defined in any single set phrase in the *BBH*. Its meaning must be determined from the different contexts in which it is used. In certain respects, *prajñā* can be understood simply as "knowledge" (*jñāna*), in that it is synonymous with the learning and 'knowing' of subjects and ideas, both of a "higher" and a "conventional" kind.

In other respects, *prajñā* can be understood as "insight", in that it arises as a special kind of awareness at critical moments in which a deeper understanding and realization of "truths" is achieved.

In some cases, *prajñā* simply signifies a basic ability to understand the details of a subject or situation, and make judgements on how to handle it. It therefore conveys the rather more humble notion of "intelligence".

Prajñā, as used in the *BBH*, also has the connotation of "worldly wisdom", by virtue of the fact that the bodhisattva makes appropriate choices in the application of both higher insight and conventional knowledge based on experience in social situations involving the guidance or benefit of others.

Prajñā in the *BBH* is also understood as a capacity for knowledge, understanding and right action which develops over time. The process and stages of *prajñā*'s development are marked by increasing levels of mental awareness and ability. The process itself is depicted as a gradual accumulation of the powers of a *Tathāgata* Buddha, culminating in the complete perfection of *prajñā* (*prajñāpāramitā*) and its "purification" in the state of complete enlightenment.

Most of these understandings of *prajñā* can be found in other Buddhist texts. The *BBH* is unique, however, in the way it combines and integrates the dimensions of *prajñā*, producing a formulation which is distinguished by its scope and comprehensive character. The *BBH* is also unique in giving a prominent place to the five sciences as an integral aspect of *prajñā*, which together with *upāya* -- skill in assisting others -- greatly extend *prajñā*'s usual meaning.

In order to show the *BBH*'s uniqueness, the uses of *prajñā* in other, comparable, texts will be given attention before an analysis of the wisdom chapter of the *BBH*.

2. *Paññā* in Pali tradition

Paññā (Skt: *prajñā*) appears in the Pali scriptures of Theravādin tradition as one of the important "three trainings" of *sīla* (morality), *samādhi* (concentration) and *paññā* (wisdom-insight) into which all aspects of the early Buddhist practices are often divided.[1] *Paññā*, as "wisdom-insight", is associated with contemplation (*dhyāna*), the subjects of which are primarily the factors that compose the mind-body complex and the changing and corruptible conditions of the external world. Such contemplation is designed to initially confirm the verities of impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*duḥkha*), non-substantiality (*anatta*), and thereafter affirm even subtler Buddhist propositions.[2]

Paññā is understood to be wisdom-insight that conduces to meritorious behaviour, speech and thought that lead one toward increasingly more advanced spiritual conditions. *Paññā*, though not specifically one of the eight aspects of the liberation path (*aṭṭangamagga*), is closely associated with "right views" (*sammādiṭṭhi*).[3] All Buddhist schools agree that there can be no progress toward liberation (*nibbāna*) or attainment of it, without *paññā*.

3. *Paññā* in the *Visuddhimagga* and *Milindapañha*:

The Pali *Visuddhimagga*,[4] written contemporaneously with the *BBH*, is a scholastic work, devoted to a complete and detailed description of the three-fold training of the Theravādin monk. A second Pali work, the *Milindapañha*,[5] which was written not long before *BBH*, depicts *paññā* in Theravādin Buddhist doctrine in a more popular,

though no less informative vein. Both works provide insights into the non-Mahāyāna dimensions of *paññā* and provide the basis for a discussion of *paññā* generally.

The *Visuddhimagga* (hereafter *VM*) is chiefly concerned with instructing Buddhist monks how to increase awareness of their mental states through deliberate and systematic training of consciousness. Mental concentration is paramount for the development of awareness, as it stabilizes the mind. This stability is required in order to apply oneself to further mental training that removes the defilements of the mind and makes progress toward liberation (*nibbāna*) possible. The *VM* briefly describes *paññā* according to its characteristic, function, manifestation and approximate cause, as follows:

> "*Paññā* has the characteristic of penetrating the individual essences of states. Its function is to abolish the darkness of delusion, which conceals the individual essences of states.
>
> It is manifested in non-delusion. Because of the words: 'One who is concentrated knows and sees correctly' (A.v.3), its proximate cause is concentration (*dhyāna*)."[6]

The relation of *paññā* to concentration indicates that *paññā* is a cultivated mental condition arising from close mental attention. It becomes manifest as an "insight power" that reveals the intrinsic nature of phenomena. Theoretically there is no limit to the range of phenomena that can be the subject of meditative concentration and insightful knowing. The *VM*, however, restricts itself to those subjects which produce mind states that are directly conducive to advancement in the realization of Buddhist truths.[7]

The author of the English translation of *VM* renders the term *paññā* as "understanding" and describes *paññā* as an "act of understanding" (*pajānana*), which is

a particular type of knowing (*jānana*).[8] The "act of understanding" involving *paññā* is distinct from "acts of knowing" involving mere perception (*sañjānana*) and even from acts of knowing that involve training designed to produce "Buddhist" cognition (*vijānana*).[9]

The knowing that is involved in bare perception (*saññā*) is the most basic level of apperception, as for example in the recognition of colours and shapes of objects.[10] The knowing that results from acts of trained comprehending consciousness (*vijāna*), is an affirmation, through reasoned analysis, of the "nature" of phenomenal existence. Basic Buddhist mental training is designed to produce acts of knowing that intellectually ascertain and affirm that impermanence (*anicca*), painfulness (*duḥkha*) and not-self (*anatta*) are the true characteristics of each and every conditioned thing.[11]

Through repeated intellectual analysis, one comes to accept these three characteristics as the condition of individual objects, and one develops the conviction that this is the condition of "things" generally. This conviction is conducive to an attitude of renunciation (*tyāga*), motivating the meditator to further pursue his mental investigation.

Pajānana, by comparison, is a deeper "act of understanding", a special kind of knowing that extends beyond these previous types.[12] *Paññā* involved in an act of understanding is depicted in the Theravadin tradition as an event-moment of critical "realization", which is integral to the experience of a series of states of insight and stages of awakening, that are achieved on the path to liberation (*nibbāna*). Understanding and

knowing involving *paññā* may initially proceed from, and remain connected with, acts of knowing of the bare sensory awareness and those resulting from trained contemplative consciousness. However, there is a categorical distinction in the quality of *paññā* as "understanding".

The chief factor in an act of understanding (*pajānana*), which distinguishes it from the others, is that an act of understanding involving *paññā* results in a "path attainment", of greater or lesser degree.[13] A path attainment may be a critical turning point, or entrance into a new stage or level of spiritual progress. It may also be a smaller, more modest advance in personal spirtual development within an already well-established level.[14] In either case, the path attainment achieved through *paññā* represents movement and progress towards ultimate liberation (*nibbāna*). Other acts of knowing, though they may make progress in mundane areas of worldly concern, are categorically different, and inferior, in that they are not acts of path attainment involving *paññā*.

The *Milindapañha* (hereafter *MP*) offers several analogies that illustrate the *VM*'s view of *paññā*, which is the one commonly espoused in the Pali literature. The *MP* is presented as a series of questions and answers between King Milinda and the learned monk Nāgasena.[15] In the English translation of the *MP*, *paññā* is rendered as "wisdom".

At one point in their discussion, Nāgasena is discoursing on the distinguishing characteristics of a variety of mental states and material conditions. King Milinda

enquires of Nāgasena whether "attentive consideration" (*manasikara*) and "wisdom" (*paññā*) are the same thing. Nāgasena replies "no", stating that even goats, sheep, cows, and other animals have attentive consideration, but do not have wisdom (*paññā*).[16] The implication of Nāgasena's answer is that basic sentience, and even a degree of intelligence, cannot be equated with *paññā*. *Paññā* is something more, and different from this.

When asked to explain more fully the difference between basic mental consideration and wisdom, Nāgasena uses a simile. He asks the king whether he has ever seen barley-reapers in the field, grasping the barley with the left hand and cutting it with a scythe held in the right. The king affirms that he has, whereupon Nāgasena proceeds with the following simile:

> "As, sire, a barley-reaper grasps a handful of barley in the left hand and a sickle in the right and cuts if off with the sickle, even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga (*yogāvacara*), taking hold of the mind with consideration, cut off the defilements with wisdom (*paññā*)."[17]

This image illustrates how mental concentration "takes hold" of the mind, revealing its "defilements" (hate, greed, ignorance and other related negativities) through awareness and analysis. At the incisive "moment", wisdom-insight sweeps across and cuts these defilements down, thus clearing the mind of them.

The "gathering in" is Buddhist mental training that stabilizes the mind and puts the data of the mind in order. The single stroke of *paññā*, is the act of understanding that reduces those conditions of the mind that hamper an individual's progress toward

liberation. This act of cutting down the defilements is a "path action" in the sense that this "cutting and clearing" represents a step towards the eventual removal of the very roots of all defilements that are an obstruction to liberation.

In a subsequent discussion, king Milinda again asks about *paññā*. Nāgasena reiterates that "cutting off" is a distinguishing mark of *paññā*, but adds that "illuminating" (*obhasana*) is also a distinguishing mark. Nāgasena explains this with the simile of a man who brings a lamp into a dark house. The lamp dispels the darkness, creates and radiates light, and makes material shapes visible. *Paññā* is like this lamp, as Nāgasena explains in the following way:

> "Sire, when wisdom is uprising it dispels the darkness of ignorance, produces the effulgence of clear knowledge, makes the light of knowing appear, and makes plain the [four noble] truths.
>
> In consequence, the earnest student of yoga sees what is impermanent (*annica*) or what is anguish (*duḥkha*) or what is not-self (*anatta*) by means of right wisdom." [18]

This simile shows *paññā* as an act of understanding involving illumination that removes obstacles to liberating knowledge and makes the Buddhist teachings of the four truths clear. At the same time it is an act of under-standing that makes clear the nature of things as they are also perceived through the conditioned perception of meditative concentration referred to above. Thus *paññā* can be co-extensive with, and at the same time productive of, knowledge and insight into impermanence, suffering and non-self.

Thus *paññā* proves itself to be elusive, as is further evident when King Milinda asks Nāgasena where wisdom dwells. Nāgasena replies by saying that wisdom dwells

"nowhere". The king reasons that if wisdom has no discernible abode, it does not exist, and says: "Well then, reverend Nāgasena, there is no wisdom." Nāgasena responds to this by asking the king where the wind dwells. When the king replies that the wind dwells "nowhere", Nāgasena replies to him: "Well then, sire, there is no wind!" [19]

The intention of the simile about the wind is to indicate that *paññā* cannot be found or seen objectively or directly, nor can it be "pinned down". Nonetheless, *paññā* has its characteristics and effects, and like the wind, can be elusive and unpredictable. This enigmatic dimension of wisdom -- its momentary appearance and non-abiding nature -- is accepted without concern in Buddhism, and like the doctrine of karma and other metaphysical truths, is understood to be, at times, beyond the grasp of logical explanation.[20]

In this same vein, when Milinda asks where wisdom goes once it has helped to dispel the defilements of the mind, Nāgasena replies that it has stopped, at least for the moment. The king is told the following simile to explain the situation:

> "Sire, it is like a man who wants to send a letter during the night. When has had a scribe summoned and has brought a lamp, he makes him write a letter. But if he has the lamp put out after the letter has been written, the letter would not be lost because the lamp was out.
>
> Even so, sire, though wisdom is stopped as soon as it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self - that is not stopped."[21]

Thus, though the lamp of wisdom (*paññā*) may last for but a brief period, what is seen and done during that period is lasting and does remain. In this case, *paññā* helps

to bring about the realization of the nature of conditioned things (impermanence, and so on) which remains after the event-moment of the act of understanding is over. Nāgasena goes on to make use of other similes that reinforce the notion that *paññā*'s purpose is to remove defilements and once this is has been accomplished is no longer applied.

For example, Nāgasena explains that the water that has been used to put out a fire has achieved the end for which it was needed. Trying to recover that water, or looking for more water to pour on the already quenched fire, makes no sense.[22] Similarly, once a disease has been successfully treated, the medicines used to treat it have been assimilated and a new course of medicine need not be prepared or taken.[23] In a related simile, Nāgasena describes a soldier who has ventured into a battle and shot his arrows, causing the enemy to flee. The soldier does not have to recover these arrows and shoot them again now that the battle is over and the arrows have fulfilled their purpose.[24]

Through these similes, one can see that *paññā* is directly related to attaining knowledge of impermanence, suffering and non-self and to the removal of the defilements that impede progress to liberation. The act of understanding involving *paññā* is thus depicted as something that is capable of revealing the essentials of very intricate conditions. At the same time, it is a momentary, event-specific act that is not in and of itself a permanent "condition" to be attained.

Milinda wonders about the full power of *paññā* and asks of Nāgasena: "Is it possible to 'cut through' everything subtle?" Nāgāsena replies that it is possible to cut

through everything subtle, but instructs the king that only some things are subtle, while others are coarse. Nāgasena states:

> "*Dhamma* (of the Buddhist teachings), sire, is all-subtle, but not all *dhammas* (things), sire, are subtle; this is a synonym of *dhammas*, sire, 'subtle' or 'coarse'.
>
> Whatever is to be cut through, one cuts through it all by wisdom; there is no second cutting through (than) by wisdom".[25]

There are several points being made in this statement. The first is that the Buddhist teachings are the most subtle of all teachings and thus require the subtlest of insights to be understood. Also, because *paññā* arises from applying oneself to the Buddhist trainings - that training is likewise subtle. Furthermore, there is also the suggestion made here that *paññā* is not only applied to, or productive of, metaphysical and liberative insight, it can also be used in producing knowledge of other things. Indeed, *paññā* in this instance appears to be a powerful, multipurpose tool like the sickle, that can cut through all forms of ignorance and obscuration, not just those relating to Buddhist religious propositions.

Yet a distinction still remains in the *VM* and the *MP* between mundane knowledge with no liberative quality and knowledge which assists in "path advancing". There is a direct connection between *paññā* and the liberation-related knowledge of impermanence, suffering and non-self attained by trained contemplation which is explicitly stated in the *MP*. King Milinda enquires as to whether *paññā* may be considered to have arisen in a person in whom knowledge of impermanence, suffering and not self has arisen.

Nāgasena replies that *paññā* does indeed arise with such knowledge, and states, moreover, that "wisdom is the same as that knowledge".[26] Thus *paññā* does become established in an essentially stable form as "liberative knowledge", in the sense of bringing about an unfaltering view of the three characteristics of existents.

Though the relationship between *paññā* and knowledge of this "trained" type is readily seen, the relationship between *paññā* and what might be called "general knowledge" is not the same. Being possessed of knowledge of the true nature of things, and even having liberative insight as an abiding condition, does not at all mean that one knows everything, or that mundane knowledge somehow arises without effort. Nor does it imply that mundane knowledge is in any way necessary for liberation. Thus the *MP* states that a person can still be unknowledgeable and even "bewildered", even though he/she has "wisdom-knowledge".

For example, says Nāgasena, a person would naturally be bewildered about certain things even though he/she had knowledge of impermanence, suffering and non-self,:

> "(a person) would be bewildered, sire, in regard to those parts of the crafts that he did not already know, in regard to those districts he had not already visited, of in regard to those names and designations he had not already heard...
>
> In regard to that done through this wisdom, sire, namely impermanence, or anguish or not-self - here he would not be bewildered."[27]

What this implies is that a person cannot be expected to know everything even if he/she has insight into certain principles that underlie everything. Informational

knowledge is of a different kind than wisdom-insight, and is operant at a different level from the knowledge attained through *paññā*. Such general knowledge is also less important, as there is no end to the potential for bewilderment, since there is no end of informational knowledge. On the other hand, there is clearly an end to rebirth if one attains a well-defined amount of Buddhist liberative knowledge.

According to this reasoning, a person could incessantly acquire "conventional" information and learn a variety of new subjects, yet also possess an abiding, fundamental knowledge of the inherent condition of "things" that was established through an act of understanding involving *paññā*, which requires no further learning. Thus an individual who is bewildered in terms of mundane knowledge, may nonetheless be wise in more fundamental, and perhaps more important, ways.

These differences between general knowledge, liberative knowledge and wisdom insight produce several paradoxes. For example, it is possible for an unworldly person with little general learning to be very wise if he/she has had wisdom insight that has produced liberative knowledge. At the same time, it is possible for a learned, intelligent, and sophisticated person to be very "ignorant" when measured in terms of the ultimate purposes of Buddhist training.

It is also possible for a person to have a theoretical knowledge of impermanence, and the rest, unconfirmed by an act of understanding, such that there has been no actual progress toward liberation. Finally, there is also the possibility that *paññā* could arise through inadvertent circumstances outside any Buddhist context, such that one actually

attained a level of liberative knowledge, but understood it and expressed it in non-Buddhist terms.

The *VM* and the *MP* do not pose or ponder over these paradoxes. Rather, they emphasise that the rationale for cultivating Buddhist views is to provide the basis, and develop the potential, for wisdom insight, in order to quickly accomplish the path to liberation in *nibbāna*. This is achieved through diverse and increasingly deeper meditations that eradicate the defilements of the mind and produce ever more penetrating acts of understanding.[28]

Thus, though *paññā* is discussed and conceived of in relation to other aspects of perception and knowing, the level of general knowledge is left largely out of discussion and is clearly of little relevance, and of far less practical importance when compared to renunciate training designed to attain realization of *nibbāna*. *Paññā* would also appear to be restricted largely to functioning as a catalyst in strategic "event moments", and thus not necessarily any independent condition, goal or state to be cultivated in its own right. The exception to this is the abiding right view concerning the characteristics of conditioned objects, and existence in general, that is initially established with *paññā* insight.

4. *Prajñā* in the Mahāyāna

While it is evident that *paññā* plays a significant, though perhaps limited role in Theravadin Buddhist tradition, *prajñā*'s role in the Mahāyāna is of greater importance.

A full discussion of *prajñā* in Mahāyāna would require more space than this study permits, thus only a summary of themes which relate to the foregoing discussion and lead to the points to be made about *prajñā* in the *BBH* are given here.

The exceptional degree of attention paid to *prajñā* in the Mahāyāna is most evident in the frequent portrayal of the bodhisattva's six perfections, in which the "perfection of wisdom" (*prajñāpāramitā*) is deemed to be the highest and most important. This is particularly true of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* literature of Mahāyāna philosophy, in which *prajñā* holds central place.[29]

Respect and reverence for *prajñā* is expressed repeatedly in Mahāyāna tradition, and it is praised in a variety of ways. *Prajñā* is compared to a sighted person who leads the blind, the captain and the compass of a ship, the bountiful earth that makes the growth of vegetation possible, and the very life that animates the body.[30]

The Mahāyāna therefore would naturally be expected to continue to view *prajñā* as a crucial ingredient in acts of understanding that produce path results. It does this, for example, by likening *prajñā* to the baking of a clay jar, so the jar will carry water. The jar is a metaphor for the well-shaped receptacle of the mind, and baking it with *prajñā* makes its fit to retain liberative knowledge.[31]

But more than this, *prajñā* is seen in the Mahāyāna as a cultivated, abiding state of awareness, likened to the wings of a bird that, once developed, make it possible for the bird to fly far and wide.[32] When fully established, *prajñā* turns every moment and every event into an act of understanding.[33] Thus the acts of understanding described

earlier, that produce event-moments of liberating knowledge and path progress due to realizing impermanence, suffering and non-self, do retain an importance for the Mahāyāna, but the role of *prajñā* becomes more highly developed.

Emphasis in the philosophical understanding of *prajñā* in the Mahāyāna is on *prajñā* as *śūnyatā* (emptiness) insight. *Śūnyatā* can be understood as "non-self" (*anātman*) and insubstantiality taken to its ultimate limit.[34] Even the particles (*dharma*) that make up objects, and the smaller particles that make up those particles, are seen through emptiness realization (*śūnyatā prajñā*) to be without self nature.[35] Madhyamika literature's veritable obsession with the concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is directly proportionate to its interest in *prajñā*. The two concepts are not only related, they are often equated.[36]

The emphasis on the ubiquitous character of *śūnyatā* resulted in it becoming reified and presented in Madhyamika thought as the "basic nature" or "ultimate condition" of all things, indeed the "ultimate condition" of everything. The realization of *śūnyatā* and abiding in its awareness - which is at least the instrumental aspect of the perfection of wisdom - became the single most important goal of Madhyamika metaphysics, at times even overshadowing the drive to attain Buddhahood and liberation in *nirvāṇa*.[37]

Prajñā thus attained a particularly exalted position in Mahāyāna due to its role as a "directing principle" amongst the other perfections, and also because it was correlated with at least the potential for an abiding realization of "ultimate non-conditionality" or

emptiness. *Prajñā* therefore came to be called the treasure-house of truth (*dharmakośa*) and the "mother and progenitor (*janayitrī*) of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas".[38] *Prajñā* was also identified and equated with the "all-knowledge" (*sarvajñatā*) of the Buddhas and therefore with the state of enlightenment (*sambodhi*) itself.[39] These depictions clearly demonstrate that *prajñā* was attributed the utmost significance and held in the highest regard in the Mahāyāna.

If *prajñā* were to have remained solely at the level of metaphysical discourse in the Mahāyāna, however, it would simply have served to continue the tradition of valuing wisdom insight and its correlated liberative knowledge, derived from Buddhist contemplative exercises, to the exclusion of other kinds of knowledge. Clearly the general knowledge involved in some of the five sciences could not have been raised to the status of *dharma* as they are in the *BBH*, had this tendency not be altered in some way.

The link that connects the exalted states of metaphysical realization with common knowledge and the mundane world of ordinary human events, is the concept of means (*upāya*). *Upāya* is another characteristic Mahāyāna idea that gave a practical turn to *prajñā*. It therefore directly influenced the potential for new dimensions of meaning of *prajñā* to develop.

5. *Prajñā* and *Upāya*

As the discussion in chapter four indicated, one of the distinguishing features of a bodhisattva's religious practice is dedication to the welfare and benefit of others. Serving others is an integral part of a bodhisattva's path of realization and liberation. This aspect of practice is expressed in the concept of *upāya* ("means'", which is also expressed at times as *upāyakauśalya* ("skill in means") and also as *kauśalya* ("skill").

D. T. Suzuki describes *upāya* as the creation of a bodhisattva's "great compassionate heart", and because of this great heart, when a bodhisattva sees fellow beings suffering " he contrives all kinds of means (*upāya*) to save them, to enlighten them, to mature their consciousness for the reception of the ultimate truth", i.e., the truth of emptiness (*śūnyatā*).[40]

The bodhisattva's ability to develop and apply *upāya* is directly related to the development of his *prajñā*, for the capacity to help others is based on the ability to see clearly the circumstances in which individuals find themselves and then be able to apply the appropriate means to assist them. The bodhisattva must therefore be able to discern many factors and dimensions that affect any given situation. Thus the ability to quickly arrive at an accurate appraisal of "circumstantial" factors is an application of *prajñā* which is taken into consideration and highly valued in the Mahāyāna.[41]

Without abandoning the previous conception that *prajñā* is instrumental in turning more ordinary mental contemplation into extraordinary path events, the Mahāyāna adds the idea that skill (*upāya*), or skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*) can be developed as an

adjunct to *prajñā*, thereby broadening *prajñā*'s scope. Thus for the bodhisattva, it is not only the well-directed workings of one's own mind that result in progress on the path. The correct application of *prajñā*-directed activities (*upāya*) for the welfare of beings and of oneself have also to be mastered in order to achieve progress. Discussion now turns to the *BBH*, which offers an insightful description of the workings of *prajñā*, which takes *saddharma*, the five sciences, and *upāya* into account, embracing several other dimensions of *prajñā* outlined and alluded to so far.

6. The *Prajñā* Chapter of the *BBH*

The chapter on *prajñā* (*prajñāpaṭalam*) is the fourteenth chapter of the first section (*ādhārayogasthānah*) of the *BBH*. It is the shortest chapter in the *BBH*, being comprised of less than 1200 words.[42] Discussion of *prajñā* is structured in the same manner as the other chapters on the perfections, i.e., in nine sections, with the description of *prajñā* beginning with its "essence" (*prajñāsvabhāva*) and ending in its "purified" form (*viśuddhaprajñā*). The other main reference to *prajñā* in the *BBH* is in the chapter on generosity (*dānapaṭalam*), where the practice of "giving in wisdom" (*prajñādānam*) is described.[43]

Prajñā in the *BBH* accords with Buddhist understanding generally, in that it is associated with directed perception and the application of mental powers to a range of subjects designed to produce advancement towards liberation. As with the *VM* and *MP*, contemplative and intellectual orientations are emphasised. However, these orientations

do not dominate in the *BBH* as they do in the other texts and are offset with activity through *upāya*. As with the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, *śūnyatā* is an essential aspect of *prajñā*, and is expressed in the *BBH* as *tattva* ("reality").[44] Yet realizing *śūnyatā* or *tattva* is not stressed to the exclusion of other aspects of *prajñā*. It is understood that liberation via the Mahāyāna cannot be attained solely through *śūnyatā* or *tattva* insight alone; other less exalted aspects of *prajñā* must also be mastered.

Perhaps most importantly, the *BBH* emphasises that the application of wisdom insight is not restricted to what might otherwise be considered "religious" pursuits. *Prajñā* is also to be developed through, and employed in, situations where learning and action are of a mundane character as well. Thus there is a continuum in the depiction of the cultivation of *prajñā* that shows that its involvement in a bodhisattva's life ranges from the realization of the truths of the most advanced metaphysics, to learning and applying appropriate skills in the most humble of worldly situations.

The following discussion of the *prajñā* chapter follows the order of presentation in the *BBH*. Some additional information from other parts of the *BBH* text is introduced to support and expand the analysis.[45]

7. The Nine Categories of *Prajñā*

The *prajñā* chapter is divided into nine categories:

[a] Essence (*svabhāva*)[46] ; [b] Complete (*sarvam*)[47];

[c] Difficult (*duṣkaram*); [d] All-round (*sarvatomukham*)[48] [e] Associated with a

Virtuous Person (*satpuruṣasya-yuktam*)[49] ; [f] All Modes (*sarvākāram*)[50] ;

[g] Associated with Destitution and the Needy (*vighātārthikayuktam*):[51] [h] Present and Future Happiness (*ihāmutrasukham*)[52]; [i] Purified (*viśuddham*)[53]

Each of these categories describes an aspect of *prajñā* with a brief statement or a cursory list of items. Some categories expand on details given in other categories, but generally speaking each category has a set of distinct points that it seeks to convey. The reason for the choice of titles and category order is not explained in the *BBH*.

Various aspects of *prajñā* are outlined, beginning with a description of *prajñā*'s "essence" (*svabhāva*) and other fundamental characteristics, and ending with a depiction of its "purified" (*viśuddha*) condition. This description is not specifically intended as a developmental progression, however, as the actual "perfection" of *prajñā* is not being described here. Rather, the various characteristics of *prajñā* are being itemized in terms of intrinsic, extrinsic and operational features that are evident from different perspectives.

a. Essence of *Prajñā* (*prajñā svabhāva*):

The essence of *prajñā* is described as a purposeful and active seeking of "all-knowledge" (*sarvajñā*) through an examination of "elements" or "existents" (*dharma*) and the study of the five sciences (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*). The *BBH* presents this as follows:

> "The bodhisattvas' essence of wisdom is understood to be the examination of elements (*dharmanam pravicayah*) for the purpose of entering into all that is to be known (*sarvajñeya*) and being involved with realizing all that is to be known;

> and engaging in the five subjects of science (*pañcavidyāsthānāni*): the science of religion (*adhyātmavidyam*), logic (*hetuvidyam*), language (*śabdavidyam*), medicine (*cikitsāvidyam*), and the science of arts and crafts (*śilpakarmastānavidyānca*)".[54]

The first aspect of all-knowledge conveyed here is abstract and metaphysical. Seeking to enter into "all that is to be known" (*sarvajñeya*) does not imply that one is literally striving to "learn everything possible"; rather, it indicates that *prajñā* involves striving to attain a realization of the intrinsic, ultimate nature of "all things", viz., *śūnyatā*, *tattva*, or *dharmanairātmya*.

At the same time, there is reference to the five sciences that connects them with striving for "all-knowledge". Thus, in a sense, all-knowledge has a relationship with a known corpus of information that is already more literally understood as "comprehensive learning", as has been noted previously. Thus, there is an initial recognition that the "examination" of the nature of reality in its larger sense must be accompanied by learning in the more general sense of the term, to "get at" the essence of *prajñā*.

b. Complete *Prajñā* (*sarva prajñā*):

The category of complete wisdom (*sarvaprajñā*) offers an expansion of *prajñā*'s essence in two alternative forms. *Prajñā* is first and foremost divisible into the simple binary sub-categories of worldly (*laukika*) and transcendent (*lokottara*). This is stated in the following manner:

> "[*prajñā*] may be seen as having two aspects: worldly and transcendent (*laukiki lokottara ca*)".[55]

Worldly *prajñā* understood in this way is insight applied to words, thoughts and deeds that condition the course of mundane matters in this and future lives. Transcendent *prajñā*, on the other hand, refers to insight as it is applied to realization of "ultimates" that are aspects of the liberative path.

This two-fold distinction is further explicated by a three-fold categorization which introduces elements to the description of *prajñā* that begin to show its full range of concerns. Thus, the *BBH* states that complete wisdom may also be considered to be comprised of three aspects:

> [1] (wisdom) for the purposes of realization and comprehension of the reality of that which is to be known (*jñeyatattva*);
>
> [2] (wisdom) in the five previously mentioned scientific subjects and in the "three groups of things" (*triṣu rasisu*);
>
> [3] and (wisdom) for skilful activity (*kauśalyakriyayai*) for the accomplishment of the benefit of beings. [56]

This tripartite description reflects the breadth of conception involved in *prajñā* in the *BBH*. The first aspect expresses a concern with realizing ultimate and transcendent conditions. In a brief commentarial section following this passage, the text explains what is involved in comprehending the "reality" (*tattva*) of all-knowledge.

The bodhisattva's *prajñā* applied to the transcendent is intended to be used to realize the truth (*satya*) of "the inexpressible selflessness of elements (*dharmanair-atyam*)"[57] and it abides with the bodhisattva even when he reaches the ultimate state of being, described as the "extremely peaceful conditions which are beyond the realization

of truth".[58] The *BBH* is indicating that *prajñā* is instrumental in revealing *śūnyatā* (*tattva*) and *nirvāṇa*.

The goal and condition of liberation (*nirvāṇa*), which is the ultimate in *prajñā* realization, is given further description. The liberated condition is realized through *prajñā* to be "free from conception (*nirvikalpa*) and all fabrication (*sarvaprapañc-apagata*)"; it is accompanied by the "equivalence of all elements", which arises from realizing "the great common characteristics" of all things[59] (i.e., through *śūnyatā*). The bodhisattva, through the application of *prajñā*, has thus reached "the limits of that which is to be known (*jñeyaparyantagata*)" and it is due to his *prajñā* that he has been able to "follow the middle path avoiding the extremes of assertion and denial".[60]

The second aspect of complete *prajñā* makes reference to the five sciences and to the three "groups of things". The three groups of things are explained in the *BBH* as the group of worthwhile elements, the group of elements which is not worthwhile, and that group of elements which is neither worthwhile nor not worthwhile.[61]

This threefold classification scheme is one of the earliest and most fundamental in Buddhism. All words, thoughts and deeds can be ranked according to whether their influence, in terms of spiritual welfare, is beneficial, harmful or neutral. The bodhisattva has to know how to manage all these factors, as they relate to his personal practice and to the training of beings.[62] To know them adds a practical dimension to the bodhisattva's knowledge of reality.

The *BBH* makes a point of noting that knowledge of the five sciences and the three groups of things, though they may not be insight into "all-knowledge" nevertheless constitute a crucial component in the bodhisattva's spiritual development and his attainment of ultimate enlightenment:

> "by skilfully grasping these eight subjects [the five sciences and the three groups of things] through *prajñā*, (the bodhisattva) accomplishes the great and incomparable collection of knowledge (*jñānasambharam*) for incomparable, complete, perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyak-ambodhi*)."[63]

This is a clear indication that the *BBH*'s view of *prajñā* associates it with a systematic accumulation of knowledge as much as it does with moments of wisdom-insight as described above. The quantity of knowledge that has to be acquired to become fully enlightened is admittedly vast, as indicated by the parameters given in the foregoing statement. *Prajñā* in this instance is also seen as the "skilful grasping" of knowledge, commending what might otherwise be called the intelligence and learning skills that help the bodhisattva acquire and retain what he must know to becoming "all-knowing" in the very literal sense of the word.

The skilful use of *prajñā* must also be applied to the benefit of beings, which is the third and final aspect of complete *prajñā*. The *BBH* here refers to "eleven aspects of the benefit of beings", indicating a section of the morality (*śīla*) chapter which describes eleven ways in which the bodhisattva helps others.[64] A summary of this section will assist in explaining what is involved in this dimension of *prajñā*.

The morality (*śīla*) that is also a form of *prajñā* is *sattvārthakriyā*, activity for the sake of others.[65] This is one of three types of *śīla* described in the *BBH*, together with morality of vows and the morality of collecting beneficial factors. The morality of activity for others involves all the kinds of assistance that a bodhisattva can, and should, render to others. The main form of assistance that the bodhisattva offers is ministering to the needs of those who are suffering in a variety of ways.[66]

The bodhisattva's assistance can include helping individuals who have a physical illness, disability, disturbed mental state, family and emotional problems or financial distress. The bodhisattva also protects others from fear, harm, and oppression that can arise from a variety of sources. He helps them when there have been natural calamities, deaths in the family, strife between friends, loss of property from theft, fire or confiscation.[67]

Another way the bodhisattva provides assistance is by offering "requisites of life" that may be needed. This ranges from food, clothing, lodging, medicine and other necessities, to more valuable items if it is appropriate. In all of his efforts, a bodhisattva seeks no personal gain. Rather, he engages in morality and *prajñā* selflessly. The *BBH* states that the bodhisattva has "no thought of self-interest, and backed only by the thought of mercy, gives himself as a resource".[68]

The third area of assistance to others, which shows how *prajñā* is most skilfully applied, is the bodhisattva's activities designed to help others make spiritual progress. This also is part of removing the suffering of beings, but is affected by teaching, guiding

and directing others, rather than by material means. This requires knowledge of the minds and personalities, dispositions and customs of people in order to be able to live amongst them and be able to gradually move them from "unwholesome" to "wholesome" situations.

In this regard, the bodhisattva must use appropriate language and behave in ways that will encourage and influence others. He has to know when to be friendly, when to be stern, when to admonish, when to ignore faults and when to praise achievements. The bodhisattva has to learn how to comply with others' proper wishes and assist them in their legitimate needs, and also learn to distinguish what is legitimate and proper from what is not.[69] There is psychology involved in this aspect of *prajñā*, and obviously much trial and error involved in becoming skilled in it. This aspect of *prajñā* is also directly related to the skill of teaching and mentoring one's students, which requires this type of attention to personal interests and differences.

Skill in activity for the sake of others is considered an aspect of the larger conception of *prajñā* in the *BBH* because it is the "operative" extension of the bodhisattva's religious commitment to help others. It was recognized that involvement with others required special insight into personal relations in order to achieve the particular ends of helping them and doing it properly. Along with this, becoming skilled in this area also enables the bodhisattva to better accumulate the merit (*punya*) that derives for moral behaviour, which, like the knowledge derived from *prajñā*, is needed to accomplish the goal of full enlightenment.[70]

c. Difficult *Prajñā* (*duṣkara prajñā*)

The *BBH* recognises that there are challenges involved in developing and applying *prajñā* and accepts that some aspects of *prajñā* are more difficult than others. The three areas in which *prajñā* is particularly difficult are considered to be:

> [1] difficult with regard to knowing the profound selflessness of elements;
>
> [2] difficult with respect to knowing the method of training beings (*vinayopāya*); and
>
> [3] supremely difficult [in attaining] unobscured knowledge of all that is to be known (*sarvajñeyānavārajñāna*).[71]

These three aspects carry on the chapter's motif of recognizing and integrating the metaphysical and practical elements of *prajñā*. They also show that the *BBH* understands that finding solutions to certain practical problems can be at a similar level of difficulty with attempts to attain higher insight realization.

d. All-round *Prajñā* (*sarvatomukham prajñā*)

The bodhisattva's all-round *prajñā* is comprised of the bodhisattva's study of Buddhist scriptures and the practice of analysis and meditation. It has these four aspects:

> [1] The *prajñā* of first of all listening to the scriptural collections of the listeners (*śrāvakapiṭikam*) and the bodhisattvas (*bodhisattvapiṭikam*); and
>
> [2] the *prajñā* of then considering them;
>
> [3] the *prajñā* which is obtained through the power of analysis (*pratisamkhyayanabala*) with respect to analysing the bodhisattva's activities as to which of these should be engaged in or abandoned; and

> [4] the incomparable *prajñā* which is obtained through the power of meditation (*bhāvanābala*) at the level of equanimity.[72]

These four aspects of *prajñā* represent a hierarchy of mental endeavours. The first two of these sub-categories of *prajñā* are directly related to the science of *adhyātmavidyā*, i.e., the study of the *saddharma*, the Buddhist scriptures. The *prajñā* of first listening to and then considering them is a foundation for the bodhisattva's liberation-oriented mental activities generally.

The next two aspects of *prajñā* are related to powers (*bala*) that are attained through reflection and meditation that are gained through practice and not through merely studying. The analysis of activities has to do with achieving and applying insight into the "three groups of things" that were mentioned previously. The power of meditation at the level of equanimity is the highest threshold of meditation and *prajñā* insight.

e. *Prajñā* of the Virtuous Person (*satpuruṣasya prajñā*)

The virtuous person is the bodhisattva engaged in the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*). The bodhisattva's *prajñā* as a virtuous person has five aspects:

> [1] It is *prajñā* obtained by listening to the true doctrine (*saddharma*);
>
> [2] it is possessed of correct internal attention; [3] it is possessed of method for the accomplishment of one's own and other's purposes;
>
> [4] it is extremely definitive *prajñā* proceeding from the right formulation of the element of elements according to doctrinal authority (*dharmasthiti*);
>
> [5] it is *prajñā* which eliminates afflictions (*kleśa*).[73]

This set of sub-categories reiterates aspects of the previous category of all-round *prajñā* ([1] and [2]), and follows a progression from the basic consideration of *saddharma* to the elimination of afflictions which hamper progress toward liberation. Again, consideration is given to personal conditions and to the conditions of others.

There is another classification of the bodhisattva's *prajñā* of the virtuous person given in the chapter that is also comprised of five aspects. Such *prajñā* is subtle, because it can enter into the "nature" (*bhaviketaya*) of "all-knowledge". It is adept, because it does in fact attain all the way to 'all-knowledge'. It is deemed to be innate (*sahaja*), because it is obtained through previous accumulation of knowledge. It is authoritative (*āgamopeta*), because it accepts and holds the meaning of the dharma revealed by Buddhas and bodhisattvas who have entered into the stages. It is also deemed to be "endowed with attainment" because it arises at the stage of pure intention (*śuddhaśayabhūmi*), which is at the completion of the *adhimukticaryā* station and produces results upward to the stage of final release.[74]

f. *Prajñā* in All Modes (*sarvākāra prajñā*)

The bodhisattva's *prajñā* in all forms is to be understood in six aspects and seven aspects which together comprise thirteen aspects. The first six aspects are comprised of the four nobles truths and the related conditions of finality and non-arising. The text uses the term "knowledge" (*jñāna*) instead of *prajñā* when referring to these thirteen aspects of *prajñā*. This would appear to signify that these aspects of knowledge are

forms of Buddhist "realized truth". Knowledge of them is based on insight (*prajñā*), as previously explained in the discussion of *paññā*. The text lists these aspects in two sets; the first set of six aspects is as follows:

> [1] knowledge of suffering, [2] knowledge of (its) arising, [3] knowledge of (its) cessation, and [4] knowledge of the path (as set forth in) the truths; [5] knowledge of final extinction (*nistayam kṣaya*); [6] knowledge of non-arising.[75]

The other seven aspects are similarly categories of knowledge relating to Buddhist doctrines and powers. These seven aspects are listed as follows:

> [1] knowledge of doctrine (*dharma*); [2] knowledge of consequences; [3] knowledge of the conventional (*samvṛti*); [4] knowledge of higher knowledge (*abhijñā*) ; [5] knowledge of characteristics (*lakṣana*); [6] knowledge of the development of the ten powers; and [7] knowledge of reasoning in the four-fold logic.[76]

g. *Prajñā* for Destitute and Needy (*vighatārthikā prajñā*)

The bodhisattva's *prajñā* for those who are needy has eight aspects. The first four are *prajñā* that relates to the bodhisattva's teaching skills. These categories are:

> [1] [*prajñā* which is] the bodhisattva's special knowledge of elements since it is knowledge in categorizing elements;
>
> [2] [*prajñā* which is] the bodhisattva's special knowledge of meaning since it is knowledge of the characteristics of elements;
>
> [3] the special knowledge of etymology since it is knowledge of the names of elements;
>
> [4] special knowledge of presence of mind [since it is *prajñā* with regard to] the analysis of types of elements;[77]

The remaining four categories are *prajñā* which have application beyond the range of teaching. These include engaging in defending the *dharma*, understanding all doctrines about the nature of the self, as well as worldly knowledge in the affairs of the household and court.

> [5] the bodhisattva's *prajñā* which defeats all opposition from others;
>
> [6] *prajñā* for classifying all propositions regarding self;
>
> [7] *prajñā* for excellently guiding and developing the prosperity of a household;
>
> [8] definitive knowledge of royal conduct and worldly matters.[78]

h. *Prajñā* for Present and Future Happiness (*ihāmutra sukham*)

The bodhisattva's *prajñā* for happiness now and in the future is deemed to be in nine aspects, though it is expressed in two short and simple combined sets. The first *prajñā* is that which is based in Buddhism and explains the *saddharma* to others. The second is that which explains the other sciences, but is not based in them. This signifies that the bodhisattva considers the *adhyātmavidyā* of the *saddharma* as unparalleled and bases his intentions in the pursuit and teaching of *saddharma* primarily. Their practice will lead to happiness both now and in the future. *Prajñā* for present and future happiness is expressed as follows:

> *prajñā* that explains well and is well-established in the science of self (*adhyātmavidyā*).

> *prajñā* that explains well, but does not abide in the sciences of logic, language, medicine and worldly arts and crafts.[79]

The *BBH* notes that the bodhisattva relies on the five sciences to instruct those who are perplexed, alert those who are careless, encourage those who are discouraged, and cause those who are already correctly involved in the practice of *dharma* to rejoice.[80]

i. Purified *Prajñā* (*viśuddha prajñā*)

The bodhisattva's purified *prajñā* is understood to be of ten aspects that range from the deepest insight into metaphysical truth, to the practical aspects of guiding and instructing others. The emphasis is on understanding things "as they really are" (*yathābhūtam*), which is synonymous with seeing them both in the reality of *śūnyatā/tattva* and also seeing the very minute details and particulars that comprise them. Purified *prajñā* is described as follows:

> [1] [*prajñā* of] two types for the purpose of (knowing) reality (*tattvārtha*), having grasped that knowledge from being (*bhavikatā*) to non-being;
>
> [2] two types for the purpose of (knowing) propensity (*pravṛttyārtha*), having well understood cause and result;
>
> [3] two for the purpose of apprehension (*upadanārtha*) having thoroughly understood, as they really are (*yathābhūtam*), that which is mistaken and that which is not
>
> [4] two for the purpose of method (*upāyārtha*) having thoroughly understanding, as they really are, all things that should and shouldn't be done.

> [5] Two directed toward finality (*niṣṭhārtha*) through fully understanding, as they really are, the afflictiveness of the afflictions and the purity of purification (*vyavadanatā*). These five aspects of the ten classifications of the bodhisattvas' wisdom should be considered to be exceedingly (*paramaya*) pure.[81]

The *BBH* concludes the chapter by noting that the bodhisattva's *prajñā* is "definitive and immeasurable" and it has great enlightenment as its result (*mahābodhiphalatā*). By relying on *prajñā*, the bodhisattvas accomplish the perfection of wisdom, realizing incomparable, complete, perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).[82]

The foregoing discussion has shown that *prajñā* has both innate and cumulative dimensions. On the one hand, *prajñā* is a single characteristic that is being refined and "purified". At the same time it is a capacity that is increasing and developing. It is also a number of products that are used for related purposes. The text speaks of "worldly" and "transcendent wisdom, yet this cannot be simply reduced to "conventional" versus "higher" knowledge, as the relationships are more complex.

Omniscience (*sarvajñā*) would appear to be the ultimate end of the full perfection of *prajñā*. This condition is neither an instantaneous realization, nor a strictly transcendental one. Emphasis is placed on the gradual accumulation of all kinds of knowledge, insight and worldly *prajñā* which are carried through to a cumulative condition in the final and ultimate state of Buddha knowledge.

Though one can separate the resulting "higher wisdom" (i.e., realization of the nature of reality) from its cause (i.e., meditation on conditions set forth theoretically in scripture), one cannot adequately discuss the ultimate result without crossing over the artificial definitional separation of the worldly and transcendent aspects.

The bodhisattva's *prajñā*, moreover, is put in the service of others. It is skillful activity for the benefit of beings and defined in relation both to higher insight and the bodhisattva's application to the five sciences. Higher insight is understood to be the realization of the selflessness of elements (*dharmanairātmya*), yet is an aspect of *prajñā* which is also of practical use and benefit. The application of metaphysical realization, as it functions through an understanding of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), has a pragmatic purpose for Asaṅga: it creates an awareness of inter-relatedness and selflessness. Seeing into inter-relatedness promotes the bodhisattva's ability to exercise compassion towards others; seeing selflessness permits him to be unattached in his pursuits.

The emphasis on "applied *prajñā*" is obvious and includes not only skillful Buddhist teaching, such as discoursing on morality and philosophy for the benefit of ecclesiastic and lay audiences, but also involves the teaching which helps individuals to acquire occupational trades. Such activities as assisting others in acquiring skill in writing, accounting, dairy farming, civil administration and business, as well as particular crafts such as gold-smithing, painting and lapidary are noted in the *BBH* as appropriate activities. The stated purpose of training oneself and instructing others in

these areas is to increase the capacity of individuals to earn a livelihood and thereby promote material well-being.

Thus *prajñā* involves knowledge, insight and understanding of both the transcendent and the mundane. The capacity for the bodhisattva's assistance to others is derived both from his/her studied contemplation, as well as from engagement in learning and experience of a worldly kind. The resulting merit (*puṇya*) derived from helping others, and the knowledge (*jñāna*) derived from the study and application to all the five sciences, accumulates and culminates in full and complete enlightenment of the condition of *Tathāgata* Buddha. It is to the discussion of the *Tathāgata* that the study now turns.

CHAPTER 7

THE *TATHĀGATA* IDEAL AND THE MAHĀYĀNA MASTER

The ultimate goal of the bodhisattva path is the enlightened condition of a *Tathāgata* Buddha, attained through activities in the perfections. This chapter analyses the *BBH*'s depiction of the *Tathāgata* in order to draw attention to the particular kinds of activities that are most highly prized in producing the signs of the *Tathāgata* body. The *Tathāgata* is the embodiment of the ideal teacher, who has himself been a devoted and willing student during his bodhisattva career. Thus, the second part of the chapter describes the *BBH*'s portrayal of the teacher-student relationship and the roles of the Mahāyāna master as teacher, instructor, mentor and debater.

A. The *Tathāgata* Buddha

1. The *Tathāgata* Ideal

The *BBH*'s bodhisattva path of training leads those who are endowed with all the lineage characteristics -- the "true" bodhisattvas -- to the attainment of complete enlightenment. The *BBH* acknowledges that the bodhisattva is ultimately destined for *nirvāṇa*, but due to his special attributes and his vow to serve beings, he will attain complete enlightenment prior to *nirvāṇa*. Enlightenment is described in the *BBH*

abstractly and technically as a set of achievements and realizations, and concretely as well, as the highest form of personal embodiment: a *Tathāgata* Buddha.

The depiction of the *Tathāgata* is god-like, a being possessed of infinite mental powers and abilities. He is, at the same time, physically anthropomorphic and is understood to be the fulfilment of all the best qualities of the human being. The figure of the *Tathāgata* is used primarily to symbolise the highest ideal of Buddhism, the completely accomplished teacher. It is the *Tathāgata* who turns the wheel of *dharma* and teaches the doctrines of the three vehicles to the three lineages. The *Tathāgata* is the product of completion in all six perfections, arising as the physical and mental accumulation of the merit and knowledge acquired in all the stations.

The *BBH* uses the *Tathāgata*'s physical form and mental abilities to portray its ideal of completion and achievement, employing the physical signs on his body as a way of epitomizing the vital activities of a Mahāyāna aspirant. This chapter will explore the *BBH*'s depiction of the *Tathāgata* as a model for complete enlightenment and for the qualities most highly prized in the perfect teacher.

2. Enlightenment and the *Tathāgata*

The Mahāyāna Buddhist conception of the most exalted state of realization is called *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*. The key word in the compound is "bodhi", most frequently translated as "enlightenment".[1] The *BBH* accords with certain other Mahāyāna texts in stating that even the "lower" vehicles and lineages of the *śrāvakas* and

pratyekabuddhas bring their followers to an authentic form of *bodhi*, but their forms are of a lesser calibre when compared with the Mahāyāna bodhisattva's. Theirs is not "insurpassable (*anuttarā*), excellent (*samyak*), complete enlightenment (*sambodhi*)". This condition is reserved for those who pursue the Mahāyāna path and only the bodhisattvas will achieve it.[2]

One of the descriptions of complete enlightenment in the *BBH* is in the simple terms of a removal of obscurations and an attainment of knowledge. This accords with the Mahāyāna generally, and is stated as follows:

> "What is enlightenment (*bodhi*)? Briefly stated it is two types of removal and two types of knowledge.
>
> The two types of removal are removal of the afflictional obscuration and removal of the obscuration to that which is to be known.
>
> The two types of knowledge are the stainless knowledge, freed from all affliction which follows from the removal of the afflictional obscuration, and the unobstructed and unobscured knowledge of all knowables which follows the removal of the obstruction to that which is to be known".[3]

A second definition of complete enlightenment depicts it as the condition of complete knowledge:

> "Or to put it another way, incomparable perfect excellent enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) is stated to be pure knowledge, all-knowledge and knowledge without attachment which is the destruction and removal of all afflictional tendencies and non-afflictional ignorance."[4]

A third and more concrete definition of complete enlightenment is given when it is presented as the embodiment of the *Tathāgata*'s physical and mental being. The final answer to the question "what is enlightenment?" yields this more graphic description:

> " To put it yet another way, this incomparable, perfect, excellent enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) is said to be the 140 exceptional Buddha-factors (*buddhadharma*), the *Tathāgata*'s freedom from impurity, intentionial knowledge and special analytical knowledge.
>
> These 140 Buddha-factors are the thirty-two signs and eighty auspicious marks of the great being, the four complete purities, the ten powers, the four fearlessnesses, the three bases of recollection, the three non-defensivenesses, great compassion, consistency in *dharmatā*, complete destruction of the propensities, and complete knowledge in all respects."[5]

By describing the condition of complete enlightenment in these terms, the *BBH* expresses the completely realized state in a concrete and identifiable model. The state of enlightenment is more than a metaphysical realization, it is an actual physical embodiment of the state of perfection of the superior qualities and conditions, virtues and knowledge of the bodhisattva who has completed the path of training and developed his intrinsic, personal *Tathāgata* being.

3. The *Tathāgata* Station

The *BBH* devotes a substantial portion of its teachings-- the entire Book III, composed of six short chapters -- to a discussion of the *Tathāgata* station of attainment.[6] The following summary indicates the range of topics covered in *BBH* III, some of which is a restatement of materials from the first two Books of the *BBH*. *BBH* III:i describes the different "births" the advanced bodhisattva takes for the benefit and happiness of living beings.[7] As the bodhisattva progesses through the stations, his birth is not always human, for he can purposefully take birth during famines as a great fish, or other animal,

to satisfy people's hunger. He also takes birth and becomes a physician to heal people, a righteous monarch to rule and protect them, and of course a teacher to instruct them. Once the bodhisattva is well-established in the stations, he always becomes a leader in any group into which he is born.[8]

As the bodhisattva advances through the stations from joy (*pramūdita*) onward, he may be born as any one of a number of gods, but in his final birth as a *Tathāgata*, he is born as a man, in either a priestly (*brahmin*) or a royal (*kṣatriya*) family. Once born into his final life, the *Tathāgata* provides assistance to living beings, as is recounted in *BBH* III:ii.[9] He cares for his family and household; if he is a king he rules justly and peacefully; as a teacher he provides for all the needs of his following.[10] Through his skilful means, the *Tathāgata* overcomes all adversities and is able to bring all beings he encounters to a greater level of realization, according to their various capacities.[11]

BBH III:iii briefly explains the relationship between the concepts of stage (*bhūmi*) and station (*vihāra*) as used in the larger schema of the bodhisattva's progress and describes the pure intention and the pure application of the *Tathāgata*.[12] *BBH* III:iv summarizes the bodhisattva stations into four areas of practice: the perfections (*pāramitā*), practices pertaining to enlightenment, practice of the super-knowledges and practice of the maturation of beings.[13] It also refers briefly to four perfections beyond the usual six: perfection of means (*upāyapāramitā*), aspiration (*praṇidhānapāramitā*), power (*balapāramitā*) and gnosis (*jñānapāramitā*).[14]

BBH III concludes with chapters v and vi, which describe the 140 buddha factors (*buddhadharma*) that make up the body, mentality and powers of the *Tathāgata*.[15] The thirty-two major marks (*lakṣana*) and the eighty minor marks (*anuvyañjanani*) are listed, and the causes of the former explained, in chapter v. The remaining buddha factors, the purifications, powers, and so on, are described and discussed in chapter vi. The thirty-two signs of the *Tathāgata* are the chief concern of the following discussion, as they are used to relate the causes of virtue (*puṇya*), which arise from the bodhisattva's activity.

The depiction of supreme enlightenment as a superior being serves important purposes. It is, first of all, a way of extolling the great qualities of the Buddhas and inspiring the Mahāyāna aspirants to strive for similarly great achievements. The description of the *Tathāgata* as a person also makes identification with him easier. It provides a context in which the various means of achieving the *Tathāgata* condition can be reiterated and emphasised for a listening audience. Thus, the *Tathāgata* serves as an ideal and a model of perfection and completion that is graphically understood by bodhisattva trainees. The *Tathāgata* is "enlightenment personified", and to achieve enlightenment means that the bodhisattva must also develop to a condition where his latent physical and mental attributes of personal *Tathāgata* Buddhahood become manifest.

The fulfilment of the Buddha *Tathāgata* state and the fully enlightened condition are dependent on engagement in a range of activities on the bodhisattva path of practice. The composite result is strongly conditioned by learning and instruction in a worldly context which is also reflected in the physical and cognitive dimensions of the *Tathāgata*

Buddha. The actual appearance, the bodily form of the *Tathāgata*, is a result of physical and verbal activity. The mental condition is composed through meditation and learning of the wide ranging sort described previously.

4. The Meaning of the Title: "*Tathāgata*"

The *Tathāgata* is the ultimate personification of fully cultivated enlightenment, exhibiting all the matured *buddha-dharmas*. He is the goal and object of bodhisattva *dharma* accomplishment. The meaning of the title "*Tathāgata*" is, however, one of Buddhism's greatest enigmas. It is acknowledged by ancient and modern scholars that the concept of the "*Mahāpuruṣa Tathāgata*" ("Great-Being *Tathāgata*") is pre-Buddhist.[16] Yet the origins of the *Tathāgata* concept and the stages by which it entered Buddhism are unknown. Moreover, there is no conclusive agreement amongst Buddhists as to how "*Tathāgata*" should be interpreted or translated, despite its frequent use in all the scriptures. Consequently there is divergence of interpretation of the term.

Adding to the mystery of the *Tathāgata* concept is the fact that Hindu texts are equally obscure on the subject, affording few clues as to when, where and how the *Tathāgata* concept developed in the Indian religious milieu.[17] Despite all of this, the *BBH* is in agreement with Buddhist texts across the full range of schools in setting the *Tathāgata* Buddha foremost as the epitome of a fully enlightened being.

The main source for the definition of *Tathāgata* in the Pali tradition is Buddhaghosa, who lists eight possible definitions relying on contextual uses of the term

in the *Pali Canon*.[18] His first two definitions concur with the consensus amongst modern scholars that *Tathāgata* has one of two meanings: "the one who has arrived 'thus'" (*tathā* and *āgata*) or "one who has departed thus" (*tathā* and *gata*).[19]

It is instructive to know how the *BBH* interprets the term *Tathāgata* and employs the *Tathāgata* concept in the description of its path. There are two places in the *BBH* at which the term *Tathāgata* is defined. The first citation is *BBH* I:vii:91 where qualities of the *Tathāgata* are discussed. The definition stated there is:

> "On account of speaking truthfully, (he is called) *Tathāgata*" [20]

Later on, at *BBH* III:vi:385 it is stated:

> "Whatever is said, spoken, uttered by such a one, all of it is true and not untrue; on account of that (he is) called *Tathāgata*"[21]

Both definitions in the *BBH* concur with this less commonly used interpretation. "Truth-speaking" is accepted by Buddhaghosa as one possible definition of *Tathāgata*, but it is not a prominent one.[22] Nonetheless the *BBH* offers only the one rendering: the *Tathāgata* is so called because he "speaks truthfully".[23] The implications of this definition will be taken up in discussion below.

5. The 140 *Buddhadharmas*

The term *buddhadharma* ("buddha factors") is referred to regularly in the *BBH*. There are 140 *buddhadharmas*, and one of the bodhisattva's main objectives is to develop these factors which are latent in his body.[24] This composite formulation of 140

elements is unique to the *BBH*, though individual groups of elements are mentioned in other Buddhist writings. The *BBH* begins the discussion of these 140 factors with the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks, which are the bulk (112) of the factors.

The thirty-two major and eighty minor marks together make up the physical body of a *Tathāgata*.[25] The *BBH* states that the major and minor marks are the conditioned effect of former action,[26] and they are developed through a bodhisattva's meritorious activities engaged in over many lifetimes.[27]

According to the *BBH*, there are three basic causes for the appearance of the signs: constant practice and accomplishment over three immeasurable eons, being ruled by the intention to benefit beings over immeasurable time, immeasurable varied aspects of immeasurable virtuous actions.[28] All the signs can be understood to be the result of having kept high moral discipline, which is exemplified in four categories of good work: restrained action, skilful action, constant action and sinless action.[29]

The development of the signs is explained in the framework of the bodhisattva viharas. At the stage of lineage (*gotra*), the bodhisattva has the potential for these signs, but they are unmanifest.[30] At the stage of committed action (*adhimukti*) the bodhisattva begins to engage in activities which will result in these signs developing in the future, but they are still generally unmanifest. The bodhisattva begins to gradually manifest the signs in the stage of purified intention (i.e., after reaching the first *bhūmi* or "joyful" level).[31] At the stage of pure high intention, they are all emergent.[32] On the subsequent stages, they are "purified", i.e., made completely visible.[33]

According to the *BBH*, the Lord Buddha taught the thirty-two signs because the actions which produce them are the counter-agents to sinful actions.[34] The various signs are the result of particular kinds of activities, and Asanga lists these in relation to the different signs that are produced. The eighty minor signs are trace markings that accentuate or extend the meaning of the major sign with which they are associated. They generally explain which general virtues contributed to the major sign with which they are associated.[35]

6. Analysis of the *Tathāgata*'s Thirty-two Signs

The *Tathāgata*'s body is identifiably human, with certain exaggerated characteristics. Like many Indian god forms, it is intended to be appealing. The devotee's attention is drawn to the outer form, but not to admire its beauty or strength. Rather, the outer form expresses the condition of inner virtue and the past lifetimes of accomplishing altruistic deeds that have developed it. The *Tathāgata* is not a hero or a warrior, nor does he carry any symbol of office, or any other token of who or what he is. The signs of his body and the radiance of his being are all that is included.

The description of the *Tathāgata*'s thirty-two major signs represents a systematic construction of his physical body from the feet to the head. The signs are presented in the following order: there are ten signs relating to the extremities (arms, legs, hands, feet and penis), four with respect to skin and hair, six with respect to general body shape, and twelve with respect to head (including teeth, tongue, taste, voice, eyes, and shape).

In addition to distinctive curves and colorations that also characterize the body, there are unusual markings on it, including "wheels" on the feet, "webs" between the fingers and toes, and a hairy mole between the eyebrows.[36]

The *Tathāgata* is male, though his penis is covered "in a sheath". He has more than the usual number of teeth (he has forty), his arms reach to his knees, and the crown of his head has a protuberance which is "like a royal turban". Moreover, the *Tathāgata* has curly dark hair, shiny even teeth, a beautiful voice, alluring blue eyes, and a delicate complexion the colour of gold. His body is well-proportioned and he has good posture and stance. The *Tathāgata* has long been depicted iconographically in this manner in Asian art.

The number and type of signs of the *Tathāgata* remain constant throughout Buddhist tradition, with only minor variations. The order of presentation of the signs in also reasonably uniform in different versions. Small differences in the order of signs do occur, but these do not appear to be determining factors in variations or interpretation. This constancy in the number, type and order of the *Tathāgata*'s signs indicates that the physical archetype of the *Tathāgata* is derived from a single, early source, and has remained stable throughout Buddhist cultural history.

Although the tradition of the *Tathāgata*'s physical signs is essentially uniform across the Buddhist traditions, the attributions of the causes of the signs is not. The following analysis of the *Tathāgata*'s signs in the *BBH* will therefore make reference to two additional versions of the tradition of the *Tathāgata*'s signs, one found in the

Lakkhanasuttānta[37] of the *Digha Nikaya* of the Theravādin *Pali Canon*, the other in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*[38] of the Mahāyāna (*LS* and *APS* respectively).

The comparative analysis employed in the following discussion is used primarily to outline the general parameters within which the attribution of the causes of the signs occurs and to highlight unique features of the *BBH*'s portrayal. Several general themes in the three texts will be noted, in order to indicate basic agreement in the interpretation of the signs. Some attention will then be given to peculiarities that set the *LS* and *APS* versions apart. The more detailed discussion of the signs will be reserved, however, for the *BBH* version, as it is beyond the scope of the present discussion to seek to treat all three texts equally and thoroughly.[39]

The three Buddhist texts (*LS*, *APS* and *BBH*) offer individual reasons for the cause of the development of the thirty-two *Tathāgata* signs. There are notable commonalities that unite all three versions, and there are no doctrinal contradictions that either sharply divide, or fundamentally differentiate, them. For example, there is a common basic agreement that virtue (*puṇya*) causes the *Tathāgata*'s signs to develop, which is expressed as "cultivating good deeds" and gathering "wholesome factors". Reverence for life is another fundamental feature expressed in different ways, for example as "abstaining from taking life", "protecting beings from harm", and "cultivating the habit of non-violence" (*ahiṃsa*).

There is similarly a common concern with "blameless" verbal behaviour. A *Tathāgata* has completely done away with lying, slander, abuse, gossip, quarreling,

divisive language and idle talk. Conversely, good verbal conduct has been cultivated, including truthful, soft/kind, sweet/pleasant and eloquent speech. All three versions of the signs also agree that the being who becomes a *Tathāgata* has been generous, having provided food, drink, clothing and shelter to others.

These commonalities contrast with variations in the texts that range from differences in the type and degree of details, to other, more substantive matters. Thus, for example, though all three texts indicate that the *Tathāgata*'s signs develop because he has assisted others, the *LS* refers to the *Tathāgata* having assisted others by fulfilling his social duties through "observing festivals", and states that he has been a peace-maker, and reunited friends and families.[40] The *LS* also states that in his development, the *Tathāgata* has observed right livelihood by not cheating, robbing or murdering.[41] While the general depictions in the *BBH* and the *APS* might imply such ideas, or could lend themselves to such interpretations, the texts do not mention or state these details specifically.

Similarly, all versions indicate in various ways that the *Tathāgata* has assisted in securing the welfare of beings in the world. However only the *APS* states, for example, that the *Tathāgata* attained three of his signs specifically from "freeing prisoners" and that he had built monasteries and encouraged others to construct groves and parks and donate fine buildings, as he had done.[42] Furthermore, only the *APS* states that the *Tathāgata* "encouraged chastity" and "guarded mantras" in relation to developing certain signs.[43] Thus, once again, though the *BBH* and the *LS*'s more general statements and

intentions in the area of helping others, or engaging in particular practices, could possibly include these features, there is, in fact, no specific mention of them in those texts.

It is therefore reasonable to expect that the *BBH*'s interpretation of signs has unique characteristics of its own, though it may share basic themes and certain details with one or both of the *LS* and *APS* versions. This is in fact the case, and its uniqueness reveals a great deal about the purposes of the *BBH*'s presentation, while reaffirming earlier suggestions as to the general social environment in which the *BBH* was used. There are also several noteworthy attributions of signs in the *BBH* that show a more directly personal and internally "self-referencing" feature of the *BBH* that is characteristic of the *BBH* as a teaching text. These various special interests and attributions will now receive attention.

From the point of view of the present study, the three areas of special interest evidenced in the *BBH*'s depiction of the *Tathāgata*'s signs are its emphasis on a student's duties to his teacher, the learning and teaching of *dharma*, and its references to nursing and administering medicine. As each of these is discussed, a brief mention will first be made to the corresponding subject areas in the *LS* and *APS* versions.

There is only one sign in the *LS* version attributed in any way to student-teacher behaviour and this is merely tangential. This occurs when it is stated that the *Tathāgata* has "sought instruction from recluses and brahmins".[44] In the *APS* version there is one reference to "following teachers" and two references to "serving spiritual teachers",

though without any details as to what this might involve.[45] The *BBH*, on the other hand, is detailed and explicit.

The *BBH* states that three signs: long fingers and toes, webs between the fingers and the toes, and long arms, are related to the *Tathāgata* having previously performed the "four actions of salutation". These four actions involve respectfully greeting teachers:

> "respectful salutation of reverent greeting, bowing down, rising from one's seat and folding one's hands together towards the spiritual teacher".[46]

The sign of soft hands and feet is obtained through an even more caring regard for the teachers' personal needs:

> "rubbing and kneading the spiritual teachers with oils, and through bathing them and giving them clothes".[47]

In addition to these signs, the signs of single body hairs and delicate skin are related to other direct care provided for teachers by their students:

> "cleaning the spiritual teachers living quarters, bathing and massaging the spiritual teacher, and weeding and clearing away grass and leaves".[48]

Thus a total of six signs develop as a result of specific duties that the *Tathāgata*, as a student, has performed for his teachers.

A second noteworthy area of emphasis in the *BBH* is reflected in a significant proportion of signs involving teaching *dharma*. The *LS* refers only twice to the *Tathāgata* "speaking to the multitude on *dharma* and explaining the teachings" and once

about him speaking in a "timely manner, truthfully, meaningfully and giving true teaching".[49] The *APS*, on the other hand, does not refer to teaching *dharma* at all.

In comparison, the *BBH* refers to *dharma* teaching in relation to five signs. Three refer to the *Tathāgata* previously "teaching *dharma* in sequence", "bestowing the taste of *dharma*", or engaging in "truthful, timely and kindly speech and teaching *dharma*". The *BBH* also refers in a fourth instance to the *Tathāgata* "bestowing the taste of *dharma* and leading others to *dharma*".[50] These references to *dharma* all appear to signify the Buddhist teachings, i.e., the *saddharma*.

The fifth reference to *dharma* in the *BBH*'s version relates to the cause for the sign of "antelope-like legs". In the *LS* and the *APS*, this sign is attributed to having learnt and taught the now-familiar five sciences.[51] In the *BBH*, the five sciences are not mentioned specifically in connection with this sign; rather, the sign is attributed to the athagata having taken up and studied *dharma* to "greater and greater levels", and thereafter having properly communicated *dharma* to others.[52] This reference to multiple levels, and the phraseology used to express the "taking up and communciating" of *dharma*, suggest that the *BBH* is using the term *dharma* in relation to this sign in the sense of the five sciences as previously explained in chapter five. Thus all versions of this particular sign appear to concur.[53]

The third noteworthy area involves specific references in the *BBH* to the *Tathāgata* having been a nurse and administering medicines. The *LS* version makes no reference to medicine at all in relation to the *Tathāgata*'s signs and the *APS* version twice

makes reference to the *Tathāgata* having assisted others by providing medicine and nursing them.[54] The *BBH*, in contrast, refers to "dispensing medicine" with respect to three signs, and in greater detail than the *APS*. This occurs in relation to the signs of the *Tathāgata*'s possessing a straight body, a symmetrical body with "banyan-tree waist", and acute taste.[55] In the case of having a symmetrical body, the *BBH* states that the sign arises from:

> "acting as a nurse to the sick, dispensing medicine, and knowing the right dosage and nourishment appropriate to the illness." [56]

The *BBH*, moreover, refers to the *Tathāgata* also having developed signs from providing "ointments, food and drink for many" and from "bringing in rejected people and giving them clothes".[57] Neither the *LS* nor the *APS* refer to such deeds.

One other general set of attributions for the source of signs is also unique to the *BBH* because of certain details that it includes. This set reflects the *Tathāgata*'s concern for others, which is an important aspect of all versions of the account of the signs. The *BBH*'s description is distinctive in certain respects, as it is expressed more personally than the *LS* and *APS* versions. In addition, in notable instances, the ideas are clearly unique to the *BBH*'s version, and can be traced to expositions in other parts of the *BBH* text.

For example, there is one sign that develops from the *Tathāgata* having cultivated "benevolence to the desire realms" and another that develops from the *Tathāgata* having "respected his parents and protected beings from harm", which receives

lengthy discussion in another part of the *BBH* in the description on the methods of conducement.[58] In a similar vein, there are two other signs that have arisen because he has "sympathised and had compassion for the world" and three more signs that arise because the *Tathāgata* has caused others to perform religious deeds and has engaged in "benefit of others", the last-mentioned being an allusion to the eleven means of benefiting others described in the *prajñā* discussion in chapter six. The phrasing of these various attributions relating to the welfare of the world is unique to the *BBH* and does not appear as such in the *LS* and *APS* versions.

Finally, there are two other attributions that reinforce the more generally self-ascriptive, personal orientation of the *BBH*. In the first, the *BBH* states that one of the *Tathāgata* signs appears because he has "destroyed pride". In an another instance, a sign appears because of the *Tathāgata* having "praised the virtues of others". These particular causes for signs are not referred to either in the *LS* or the *APS* texts. However, both attributions do reflect major areas of concern that are regularly emphasised in various parts of the *BBH* and are mentioned with regard to the development of the bodhisattva's morality.[59]

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis. Firstly, the *BBH*'s version of the *Tathāgata*'s signs gives important indications as to the social environment in which it was taught. The unique emphasis on the importance of the student's service to his teacher clearly makes sense if the context and setting for the use of the text were Nālandā Mahāvihāra or a similar institution. Given the importance of

a good student-teacher relationship in a pupil's learning career, it is understandable that it should be expressed so emphatically and graphically in the *BBH*. Reinforcing the student-teacher relationship is a logical priority under such circumstances. The fact that no detail of this kind is given in either of the other versions compared, indicates that the *BBH* text's version is specific to a very particular location.

Similarly, attention to learning and teaching the *dharma* -- both its *saddharma* and five sciences form -- would be expected of a text used in an environment such as Nālandā Mahāvihāra, given the nature of the institution as described in earlier chapters. Though teaching is, in any case, a characteristic activity of a *Tathāgata*, it receives far greater emphasis in the *BBH* than in the other versions cited. This suggests once again that the educational enterprise is highlighted and particularly valued because of the context in which the *BBH* was used.

The references to nursing and medical attention are similarly reflective of an educational concern that was also part of the curriculum at Nālandā, namely the study of medical texts preparatory to the practice of medicine. The detailed references to dispensing medicine, regulating diet, etc., are indicative of more than cursory interest in physical well-being and correlate with the fact that the study of medicine was one of the bodhisattva's legitimate means of being of service to others.

These three areas of student-teacher relations, teaching and learning, and medical practice, are the most obvious features in the depiction of the *Tathāgata*'s signs that demonstrate the *BBH*'s situational application. They represent, moreover, a means of

instilling a general system of principles and values, while validating and emphasizing specific practices. This is presumably the goal of all three versions of the signs, each in its own particular context.

There are additional details and features in the description of the signs that reinforce the *BBH*'s uniqueness. The most significant of these has been noted above, namely the noticeably personal and intimate tone in which the attribution of signs is presented. Another is the informal style of the presentation generally, which is less polished and structured than the other two versions.

The personal tone evident in the attributions of the signs is in keeping with the *BBH* being used both for religious instruction and as a guide for personal development, which are features of the text referred to in the first chapters of this study. It is therefore very much in keeping with these uses of the text that it reflect a more intimate and personally caring attitude in its depiction of the "ultimate" person. In this connection it is also noteworthy that, in many respects, the *BBH* version of the signs is considerably less uniform, and the phraseology much less formal, than in the *LS* and *APS* versions.

The *BBH* version is not as polished doctrinally or rhetorically as the others cited. This lends further support to the interpretation of the signs in the *BBH* being itself an integral part of the greater intention of the text, which is to comprehensively teach, to a student audience, the principles and purposes of the bodhisattva's education. The signs, though abstract "markers", are nonetheless real, in the sense that they detail the attitudes and behaviour that are deemed to be of importance in producing them.

Seen from this perspective, the depiction of the *Tathāgata*'s signs was principally intended to reiterate general Buddhist values, while detailing and re-inforcing an awareness of factors in the students' educational environment, and attitude toward learning, that were particuarly relevant for their guidance and motivation.

B. The Mahāyāna Master

1. Teacher-Student Relations

Clearly the relationship between student and teacher, and the recurrent emphasis on education, are important factors in the depiction of the *Tathāgata*'s signs. As earlier, the Chinese travellers' accounts can assist in corroborating and expanding on the materials in the *BBH*.

I-Tsing offers some illuminating comments on the relationship between a student and his teacher. The general importance of instruction to Buddhism, and the place of the student in it, is made clear by his statement:

> "In the fundamental principles of the Law of the Buddha, teaching and instruction are regarded as the first and foremost. Just as a Cakravartin king very carefully protects and brings up his eldest son; so carefully is a pupil instructed in the Law."[60]

He reiterates this sentiment in another passage where he notes that the fate of Buddhism depends on teachers properly instructing students:

> "The instruction of pupils (*saddhivihārika*) is an important matter for the prosperity (of religion). If this is neglected, the extinction of religion is sure to follow. We must perform our duties very diligently, and should

> not (allow ourselves too great license) like a net that allows the water to run through it."[61]

I-Tsing as a monk and visiting scholar was especially concerned with learning *Vinaya* rules and documenting customs and procedures to ensure that the monasteries in his native China would follow what he considered Buddhism's original norms. Thus, he was even more emphatic when describing the importance of *Vinaya* training Buddhism, as is reflected in the following statement:

> "If we practise in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha, then the succession of the Law will never be interrupted. If his rules be slighted, what else can there be that is weighty? Thus, it is said in the *Vinaya* text 'Rather be a butcher than a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught'."[62]

I-Tsing also provides information about the conduct and interaction of students and teacher at Nālandā. The few details mentioned are not only of general interest, they also corroborate significant aspects of the foregoing discussion of the *Tathāgata*'s signs.

I-Tsing describes the duties of a student over the course of a day, noting that the student comes to his teacher in the "first watch of the day and the last watch of the night".[63] The student attends to the teacher's needs in the early morning by bringing him a wash basin and towel, and neem-wood twigs for brushing his teeth.[64] The student makes salutations to his teacher and enquires about his health. He also pays his respects to his seniors in the "neighbouring apartments".[65]

The teacher then asks his student to sit comfortably and the student settles into his studies. I-Tsing describes the mode of study as follows:

> "(Selecting some passages) from the *Tripiṭaka*, (the teacher) gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct (i.e., enquires about his behaviour), and warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupil faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent."[66]

After reading portions of scripture, the student reflects on what he has learned. I-Tsing notes that in this way, the student "acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute".[67]

The student serves his teacher in a variety of ways for the instruction he receives. Several ways of attending to the teacher that I-Tsing mentions are already familiar from the interpretation of the *Tathāgata*'s signs:

> "The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes, or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. Then, having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher.
>
> Thus if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior."[68]

This brief passage corroborates the fact that regular attention to the personal needs of the teacher was deemed to be a major "merit-making" activity for the developing bodhisattva, worthy of being literally "embodied" in the composite *Tathāgata* ideal.

There was also a reciprocal nature in the concern for personal well-being, though the student-teacher relationship was not strictly an exchange of personal service for teaching and instruction. I-Tsing notes that the teacher was equally concerned about the student's physical well-being. The teacher would care for the student's health and look

after him when he was ill. Again, corroboration of the activities of nursing and the dispensing of medicines valued by the *BBH* is evident from the following statement, when after having described, on one hand, the student's service to the teacher, I-Tsing notes:

> " On the other hand, in the case of a student's illness, his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicines needed, and pays attention to him as if he were a child."[69]

2. The Roles of the Mahāyāna Master

It is evident from this depiction of the *Tathāgata* signs and from other portions of the *BBH*, that a principal use of the portrayal of the bodhisattva is to develop a model of the ideal teacher/educator. The perfect student becomes the perfect teacher, and by typifying these as ideals, the text seeks to inspire in its audience an appreciation of both. Most attention is directed to a conception of an ideal teacher, the ultimate personification of which is the *Tathāgata*.

The *BBH* textual materials present the bodhisattva and *Tathāgata* in the roles of instructor, mentor and debater. These roles embody what in practical terms amount to the ideal Mahāyāna Buddhist master. As instructor, he is a deeply knowledgeable person who informs and guides his students in a variety of academic pursuits. As a mentor, he cares for their personal well-being and spiritual development. As a debater, he

champions and defends the Buddhist faith. These roles were also those of the Nālandā monk-master, as confirmed by the Chinese travellers' records cited in this study.

A fourth role of the Mahāyāna master is that of a doctrinal specialist. Evidence for this has also been presented from the accounts of I-Tsing and Hsüan Tsang, where it was shown that the specialist was regularly consulted to clarify doctrinal matters and was qualified to judge religious debates and examinations.

The *BBH* develops the examples of instructor, mentor and debater with details that give a more complete understanding of the activities intended of each. The remainder of the chapter will present the *BBH*'s depictions of these roles.

a. Teacher

It is significant that the *BBH* stresses a verbal function as the primary defining factor of the title "*Tathāgata*". It is congruent with the *BBH*'s approach to the bodhisattva's *saddharma* path in general that it emphasises true and clear speech as the chief characteristic of the fully enlightened. What indeed is the greatest contribution that a *Tathāgata* Buddha makes to the world? According to Buddhist tradition in all its forms, it is the gift of the teaching (*dharmadāna*), and more specifically (though not exclusively), the gift of teaching the path(s) to liberation.

One might ask why Asaṅga did not define *Tathāgata* in a more commonly used fashion, such as "one who has gone to liberation" or "the one who has arrived at truth". The answer lies in the emphasis that the entire *BBH* places on the role of teaching and

education as central to the Buddhist path. The *Tathāgata* is so learned a person that he can instruct anyone on any subject. He is impressive first and foremost because of his command of "all-knowledge" and his ability to convey all doctrines to others clearly, fully and completely. He is venerable primarily because of his ability as instructor, educator and orator. He speaks the truth of *dharma*.

The most fully developed personal ideal in the *BBH* is the bodhisattva as competent instructor. This ideal is referred to repeatedly in the text. The descriptions of the developing bodhisattvas and accomplished *Tathāgatas* as teachers not only present ideals and incentives, however, but also give guidelines to the student on how to teach. The following characterization is based on a variety of passages in the *BBH* in which the bodhisattva and *Tathāgata* are depicted as instructors. These passages also reveal a great deal about the instructional techniques that were considered the most appropriate for the *dharma* teacher to employ.

b. Instructor

Though education in the "non-Buddhist" sciences is occasionally referred to, it is education about the *saddharma* that receives the greatest attention in the *BBH*. While such education may take other forms, the principal one depicted involves a teacher personally instructing a group of students. The *BBH* explains education of this type relatively simply, as a process of providing, listening to, learning, and finally considering *dharma*.[70]

Teaching is therefore spoken of as "providing *dharma*", and defined as any "giving of *dharma* by imparting scripture or by true explanation of (its) meaning".[71] Listening to and learning *dharma* is "hearing, receiving, memorizing, and recitation of the *dharma* of the *sūtras*, and so on".[72] Learning occurs, however, only when such listening is intentional and not a matter of circumstance or chance. As the *BBH* expresses it, learning *dharma* arises only when there is "a desire to know about the Buddha's word".[73]

The "considering of *dharma*" refers to any deductions, observations, or decisions that are made regarding the meaning of teachings that are arrived at due to reflection on what has been heard. The *BBH* describes this as a personal (solitary) reflection that is "delight in contemplation" of *dharma*.[74]

Thus, learning the *dharma* is based on the intentional desire to know about it and occurs as a result of first hearing and then considering it. If the teaching of *dharma* is initially improper or inexact, there can be no learning. The instructor's knowledge of the technical aspects of *dharma* is therefore important, but so too are his personal qualities, for without them, real teaching cannot occur.

The teaching of *dharma* in the Mahāyāna context is understood to be for one's own and for others' benefit. It is therefore not simply a transmission of information. That which the teacher communicates must also be in comformity with his own personal behaviour and contribute to the betterment of it. Thus, the *BBH* describes *dharma* teaching as a form of "self-development". This is particularly true when the teacher is

explaining correct moral conduct or any other teachings to his students that he claims will improve their spiritual conditions, or, as the *BBH* expresses it, will move them from "non-virtuous situations" and place them in "virtuous situations".[75]

The contents of such teaching must be consistent with the teacher's own personal "qualities", so that he is seen to be practising what he preaches. The *BBH* puts it this way:

> "One's own involvement according to one's own speech means activity in accord with one's involvement in *dharma*, so that it cannot be said by others: 'If you yourself have still not left non-virtuous situations and do not abide in virtuous situations why do you wish to induce, exhort, and remind others to do so? You yourself still need to be induced, exhorted and reminded by others!'"[76]

In order to be an acceptable teacher, the bodhisattva must not only be "morally compatible" with what he teaches and therefore honourable, he must also find ways of attracting and drawing an audience to himself. An important aspect of the teacher's educational talent involves the use of his "skilful means" to attract an audience. The *BBH* notes that there are some who are drawn to practice of the *dharma* by attracting them with material goods, others who are attracted by different aspects of the teaching itself, and some who can be attacted with both goods and the Teaching.[77] Attracting an audience by material goods can range from simply providing a resting place or food and drink to the needy, to support for one's students, to greater acts of generosity, such as donating buildings and parks to the Sangha. This results in one's reputation becoming

wide-spread and suppliants come both for material aid and from a feeling that they can learn.[78]

The audience is principally attracted and retained, however, by what is called "agreeable speech".[79] This is defined in the *BBH* as speech which is meaningful, honest, truthful speech, that is "concordant with *dharma*" and pleasing to beings.[80] The bodhisattva's agreeable speech is not necessarily only religious discourse; it can be of a worldly nature as well. Thus the *BBH* makes the distinction between "friendly and gladdening speech" on the one hand, and religious discourse on the other.[81] The former is helpful and applicable in more conventional, worldly ways and can also serve to make an audience receptive. The latter, however, is what really makes the more profound effect. According to the *BBH*, religious discourse is ultimately more "attractive" because it offers "the best of assistance" as it is the teaching of liberating *dharma*.[82]

The instructor must also take the capacities of his audience into consideration when he teaches and make allowances for all temperaments and aptitudes. He is not always in the presence of advanced learners or superior intellects; he must at times teach those who are antipathetic or "largely deluded and of weak intelligence". Yet the bodhisattva is persistent and speaks to them "indefatigably" in accord with *dharma*. Though he may find the task a burden, he carries on with it and guides them in the "virtuous *dharmas*" to the best of his ability.[83]

In order to gradually lead his listeners in the direction of virtue, the Bodhisattva involves himself initially in teaching what the *BBH* refers to as "easy *dharma*", that is,

giving only the most basic precepts and guidance to those who are "immature beings" with only a little knowledge and wisdom. After they have attained a moderate degree of knowledge and wisdom he increases the level of his teaching, giving them moderately difficult *dharma* and moderately difficult precepts and guidance. Finally, when his students have attained a great degree of knowledge and wisdom, he teaches the "profound *dharma*" and gives the subtle precepts and guidance. This is referred to as "gradual accomplishment of welfare for beings".

In addition to being able to teach and guide all temperaments and levels of student, the teacher also does not stint on what he has to say, nor does he refuse to teach certain topics if the students are competent to learn them. The *BBH* explains that the bodhisattva is not "miserly with the Teaching" and he does not have the "closefistedness of the professors" with regard to the teachings.[84] He must remain ever attentive to explain anything that is needed or requested of him.

Because the ideal bodhisattva teacher is widely learned, when discoursing on the subject of religion he can make a variety of adjustments according to the needs of his audience. The most important of these is with respect to the actual vehicle that a given person or audience may be following. He must discern the audience's level and needs, and find the appropriate ways of instructing. The *BBH* states this as follows:

> "With his skill in the three vehicles the Bodhisattva teaches appropriate teaching in conformity to the lineage, power, and conviction (of living beings); he teaches appropriately and expeditiously."[85]

When speaking of the *Tathāgata*'s teaching of the three vehicles, the *BBH* states that for those who have "rightly entered" Mahāyāna, the *Tathāgata* gives the instruction that caused him to become "awakened to all *dharmas*" and attain "genuine complete enlightenment" himself.[86]

Furthermore, he teaches those doctrines that remove "all impurities" to individuals who have rightly entered into the vehicles of Hearer and Solitary Buddha.[87] The *Tathāgata* teaches to both vehicles, the "path of liberation" and the "removal of obstacles".[88]

The ability to teach is of such central importance to the *BBH*'s bodhisattva ideal that two of five characteristics that define a person as a "true" bodhisattva have to do with teaching.[89] The five characteristics are compassion, speaking in a kindly manner, courage, openhandedness, and the ability to "unravel the difficult points of the profound Teaching".[90] Speaking in a kindly manner, as already noted, is a general factor that makes listeners amenable to the bodhisattva's teaching. Being able to explain the deeper meaning of the scriptures and doctrines is the more demanding art. There are five areas of development that demonstrate the special skill of the trained teacher in "unravelling the profound".

The first of these areas involves the ability to explain the "profound *sūtras* taught by the *Tathāgata*". These *sūtras* are profound, because they embody the ascending levels of doctrine that culminate in explaining the subtle doctrines of emptiness and dependent origination.[91] The second area of skill is that of identifying and correctly interpreting

students' transgressions against *Vinaya* discipline and instructing them how to make amends and "turn away from transgression" in the future.[92] The third skill involves the teacher's ability to itemize and explain in sequence the many varied categories of factors (*dharma*), especially of the *Abhidharma*, or as the *BBH* puts it to "present the correct arrangement of the marks of phenomena according to their inventory".[93]

The fourth ability to teach the profundity of *dharma* relies on a teacher's vast learning and his knowledge of even the most recondite topics and their significance, or as the *BBH* states, a teacher of this calibre has "clear ascertainment of the names and the sense of a teaching whose import is obscure".[94] The fifth area is described as a broad knowledge of the Buddhist teachings which involves being able to explain the qualities, meanings, etymologies, aspects, and divisions of the *dharma* teachings. The *BBH* states that "there is nothing higher or greater than this".[95] This comprehensive set of areas accounts for the entire range of skills and knowledge the instructor possesses to be a master of Buddhist studies.

The instructional process, with its levels of engagement, can be summarised using two statements, found at page *BBH* I:xvii and *BBH* III:ii, which are combined in the following depiction.

A bodhisattva, wishing to teach *dharma* to a person or audience, first removes any animosity towards him by means of pleasant speech and agreeable, generous behavior. The bodhisattva is able to win over harmful beings by focussing a loving mind on them; sinful beings by focussing a helpful mind on them; and discouraged, miserable,

unaware, careless, and disheartened beings by focussing a mind on them that is full of help, happiness, and compassion for them.[96]

The bodhisattva is aware of his own state of mind and level of self-regard when he teaches. He is not proud, nor does he hold himself in high esteem for what he is doing. He does not speak ill of, or disparage, others when he teaches. He is neither jealous nor disheartened over teaching abilities of others that may be superior to his. He does not teach *dharma* with an acquisitive attitude, nor does he expect, want or anticipate acquisitions, respect, or fame from his teaching.[97]

After removing any animosity of others and any taint of self-interest from himself, the bodhisattva inspires listeners by causing them to feel joyful about their own virtues and he develops their respect for the *dharma* through recounting the virtues and deeds of the Buddha(s). By producing joy and respect in his audience, the bodhisattva teacher inspires in them the desire to listen to *saddharma*.[98]

He then teaches them "meaningfully, conducively and appropriately". If they are beginners, he teaches them fundamentals, including terms and their derivations "in the proper order", i.e., in an order that makes sense of the topic.[99] Having taught terms and derivations, he discourses on the meanings of the terms. The teacher expounds and explains "*dharma* embued with meaning and meaning embued with *dharma*" and he does not teach that which is irrelevant or beyond the grasp of his audience.[100]

This may mean that at times the teacher elaborates on *dharma* topics that are condensed, and at other times he must condense topics that are very extensive. He

explains any given *dharma* topic both by introducing new information and by recalling previously learned facts that relate to the topic at hand. He also uses questioning with those who have already "memorized and preserved" the *dharma* topic being addressed and can benefit from an exchange of ideas and views on it.[101]

Amongst the actual topics of Buddhist doctrine mentioned as subjects of teaching, the *BBH* makes note of only one that is especially difficult, and therefore needs special attention; this is the subject of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). The *BBH* mentions in several places that there are those who cannot comprehend the import of the *Tathāgata*'s intentions in the profound "voidness-embued *sūtras* spoken by the *Tathāgata*" and are disturbed and even repelled by it.[102] The inability to understand the emptiness teachings is potentially very disruptive for the individual and for the stability of *saddharma*, as the listener may reject the emptiness teachings and deny they are Buddhist. This is phrased as follows in the *BBH*:

> "Not correctly comprehending the meaning of teachings contained in such ('voidness-embued') *sūtras* concerning the identitylessness of all things, their existencelessness, birthlessness, cessationlessness, similarity with space, illusion, and dream, they become panicked and feel:
>
> 'These cannot be the *Tathāgata*'s statements'."[103]

The implications of this rejection are serious indeed as the emptiness-embued *sūtras* are those of the Mahāyāna and rejecting them would amount to a rejection of the Mahāyāna as well. The Bodhisattva, however, by means of his skill in teaching, is able to cause those who reject these kinds of *sūtras* to eventually accept them. He does so

by explaining what the *BBH* describes as the "true import of the *Tathāgata*'s intentions in such *sūtras*",[104] which involves teaching *dharma* beginning with points that students already accept and demonstrating how the emptiness teachings relate to these. The text notes that the connection is best drawn with the more common truth of non-self and the formulation of dependent origination, which, though also difficult to "realize", are more easily "conceptualized".[105]

c. Mentor

The *BBH* recognizes that a bodhisattva teacher is not only responsible for his students' formal education. He also has an important role to play in their moral guidance, personal development, and their physical and material well-being. The bodhisattva teacher can therefore also be depicted as a mentor and guide, and the *BBH* devotes a short section to the requirements of this role.

The bodhisattva's proper governing of his group (*gaṇa*) is called a bodhisattva's "assistance with aid" and is described in *BBH* III:iii. It is explained that the mentor holds those dependent upon him "dear" and that he assists his group in two fundamental ways, through exercising personal self-control and by properly caring for the needs of his charges.[106]

The *BBH*'s first point with regard to the bodhisattva mentor's self-control is that he must not take any advantage of his students materially. He therefore resists any desire to benefit from what his students might give him, or offer to pay him, and as the *BBH*

puts it, he ensures that he has "an attitude of non-greediness for offerings".[107] The second point is that the mentor must be a model of moral, intellectual and personal behaviour. As a person with a direct knowledge of his students' personal behaviour, he must guide, counsel and even discipline his charges "as needs be".[108] As an instructor he must set a good intellectual example and teach his students clearly and appropriately. Most importantly as a mentor, he must remain steady and reliable in his relationships with them.[109]

Thus, the *BBH* states that the bodhisattva mentor does not misguide students by setting a poor example, and in his guidance and assistance to students he is even-minded and impartial.[110] He is generous with his teachings and he teaches without any expectation of return or desire for reverence from his charges.[111] The mentor's main concern is with his students' "accumulation of virtue" and he always seeks opportunity to show how this is done, by performing beneficial deeds himself. When his students also personally engage in this kind of activity themselves, he is quick to recognize it and give them praise and encouragement.[112]

The mentor's responsibility to his students involves close personal relations. The bodhisattva mentor is concerned about their welfare at all times and remains constant with them; as the *BBH* puts it "he is the same with them in happiness and suffering".[113] He sees to their support by sharing whatever offerings he may receive.[114] When his students' behaviour demands criticism and censure, he also provides that.[115] When his

students are ill he nurses them and cares for them, and when his charges are sad or distressed, the mentor uses every means possible to alleviate their condition.[116]

The mentor is, moreover, impartial in his treatment of students and does not show favoritism. He does not look down on those who are physically or intellectually below the level of the rest. The *BBH* states that he will cover the same teachings with students again and again until they have understood the topic and will repeatedly give them advice on how to manage their concerns.

The impression conveyed by the description of the mentor is summed up in these final verses:

> "He is patient and undisturbed in the face of adversity. He follows the same mode of life as (his charges do), or stricter, but not laxer. He is not attached to material offerings or respect. He is full of compassion. Humble and unwavering, he is endowed with excellent morality, view, conduct and life.
>
> His countenance is charming and unfrowning; he speaks in a gentle voice, graciously, preceded with a smile. He is free from carelessness and sloth, always without interruption exerting himself in virtue." [117]

d. Debater

While the bodhisattva's and *Tathāgata*'s duties as teacher and mentor are the more usual roles depicted and alluded to in the *BBH*, a third role also receives attention, particularly in depicting the *Tathāgata* Buddha. This is the role of defending the Buddhist *dharma* against attack. It has been mentioned that defending Buddhist doctrines and defeating opponents in debate was an activity at Nālandā that drew attention to a

teacher's prowess and served to establish his reputation. Increase in the fortunes of both the teacher and his monastery also came with increase in renown, as has already been noted.

As a debater, the master engaged fellow Buddhist specialists, in order to elucidate subtle points of *dharma* for the benefit of general clarification, or to assert the pre-eminence of a certain doctrine or view. But he was also called upon to champion and defend the Buddhist position generally, against skeptical or antagonistic opponents. The *BBH* offers insight into the importance placed on the bodhisattva master gradually learning to stand up to opposition, and to the *Tathāgata* ultimately defending the faith by utterly silencing his opponents. The stages of this process of development are evident in the *BBH*.

At the beginning level, the bodhisattva is steadying himself and establishing his views, described in various passages in *BBH* I. The bodhisattva at the novice level demonstrates greatness by "inducing the (heterodox) priests to release in accord with *dharma* those animals they have grasped in order to castrate" [118]. He is also unswayed by others' convictions and does not lose his "determination for the Mahāyāna".[119] He knows that many do not follow the Buddhist path and are taken up with purely materialist thoughts,[120] yet he persists in his practice and teaching of the path.

The bodhisattva may at times encounter opposition and even danger in his activities and yet he is steadfast in his approach to those who seek to do him harm:

> " when facing an opponent or a enemy of murderous intent the bodhisattva sizes up with a very clear, faultless mind and then speaks in a friendly gladdening or helpful manner."[121]

The bodhisattva realizes also that there are those who he wishes to help, but cannot, because they are presently non-Buddhists (literally, "outsiders") or dissenters (*tīrthika*), or they are acting under the influence of previously-learned doctrines that make them antagonistic towards the *dharma*-training".[122] Nonetheless, even the novice bodhisattva tries to "obstruct those who obstruct the teaching"[123] and is not averse to encountering opposition as he gains strength and steadiness from teaching *dharma* to a large gathering of antagonistic opponents".[124]

There is only one occasion in the text, *BBH* I:xvii, where the *BBH* actually describes the religious practice of non-Buddhists, and in so doing, presents the Buddhist practices that it suggests be taken up in their place. The bodhisattva in this instance teaches a variety of different Buddhist views to the "misguided":

> " (the bodhisattva) teaches those mistakenly involved in month long fasts the eight moral observances;[125] likewise he exhorts those in exhausting yogas to give them up;
>
> to those who are (self)-immolators and cliff-jumpers and those fasting to death, who do so desiring higher rebirth, but are involved in the wrong practices to attain it, he teaches real contemplation (*dhyāna*) so they can attain bliss now and in a later birth.
>
> For those who recite Vedas for liberation, he induces them to recite Buddhist teaching (*Buddhavācana*) instead".[126]

The bodhisattva, rather than making any prayers or offerings to the gods, is satisfied to reiterate his dedication to the Buddhist faith:

"(the bodhisattva) makes the great supplication to uphold and preserve the Holy *dharma* of the Bhagavān Buddhas and to uphold the *dharma* system; great supplication to perform the deeds of a Buddha".[127]

At the higher levels of the bodhisattva development, there is resolve and conviction about the Buddhist teachings which result in complete confirmation of them. From this point on, the bodhisattva is not put off by non-Buddhist teachings, as is evident from *BBH* II, where it is stated that on the basis of his faith in Buddhism, the bodhisattva "is not able to be shaken by any of the Māras and those dissenters who are enemies of the *dharma*".[128] Thus he is able to face the dissenters and "turn them aside".[129]

There is no section of the *BBH* that reveals the emphasis on championing the Buddhist teaching more pointedly than in *BBH* III describing the attainment of the *Tathāgata* level. In the final chapter of the texts, in the section on the *Tathāgata*'s powers (*BBH* III:vi), the *Tathāgata* is shown to refute and defeat all the teachers of other traditions. The *Tathāgata* is spoken of as being amongst the "excellent peerless teachers"[130] not only because of his vast learning and ability to teach the three vehicles, but because one of his foremost talents is the power to debate and defeat opponents. He establishes his pre-eminence in this regard, as the following passage concerning activities associated with the ten powers demonstrates. The specific reason that the *Tathāgata* is the best of teachers is stated as follows :

"he (the *Tathāgata*) is called "the superior"... because of confounding all the dissenters with his teachings of the path, because of his boldness before those who occupy the foremost rank of those who oppose the path, because of his not being bested by controversialists"[131]

The *Tathāgata* is likened in a general way to a physician who is capable of curing, including the illness of bad views. Moreover, he is equated with Brahma[132] who requested Śākyamuni Buddha to set the *dharma* wheel into motion:

"Setting in motion the wheel of Brahma is to be viewed as the means of pacifying illness. Roaring the lion's roar in the midst of the assembly is to be viewed as like refuting the claims of bad physicians and oneself announcing the sure means for pacifying the illness."[133]

Furthermore, the *Tathāgata* applies several of his ten powers in specific ways to refute contrary views that exist amongst other religious communities. In the first instance, he establishes the basic doctrines of karma and is able to defeat and "silence" mendicants of various traditions, as well as Hindu brahmins. He is also able to show that the doctrines of the various other religious teachings are mutually contradictory, and thereby silence them all:

"with the power of the knowledge of cause and effect... he silences the ascetics and brahmins who advocate what is not a cause and a discordant cause...

with the power of knowledge of action as one's own..... he silences the ascetics and brahmins who advocate transference of giving and merit.

he silences the ascetics and brahmins who remain in mutually contradictory and inimical hostile positions".[134]

There is power associated with the *Tathāgata*'s attainment of full knowledge of his many previous existences. Thus he can recount his own births, deaths, reincarnations and present final liberation, both for the benefit of bodhisattva and *śrāvaka* devotees and also to demonstrate the untenable nature of other religious positions. The two positions

mentioned are the most fundamental ones to be refuted to establish the Buddhist teachings on the Middle Way: permanence and nihilism. The *Tathāgata*, in addition to this, through assurance and self-confidence, humbles those who are possessed of arrogance due to belief in their false views:

"having recollected occurrences and births in the past, (the *Tathāgata*) preaches about them to those (bodhisattvas) in training for the sake of producing in the attitudes of repentance and faith (and therewith) silences the mendicants and Brahmins who advocate permanence.....

by the power of knowledge of death and rebirth the *Tathāgata* reveals to the *śrāvakas* his time of death in the past and his place of rebirth (therewith) silencing the mendicants and brahmins who advocate nihilism....

by the power of knowledge of the destruction of impurities the *Tathāgata* becomes free of doubts and qualms about his liberation (therewith) silencing the mendicants and brahmins who are arrogant in their saintliness."[135]

In conclusion, the *BBH* states that one of the ten major deeds performed by the *Tathāgatas* is to "overthrow all the teachings of others and to establish his own".[136]

Thus, the *Tathāgata* embodies the many features and characteristics of the accomplished follower of Buddhism. His career as a student bodhisattva is incorporated in the physical appearance of his body, and the activities that he engages in during his development and in his final life are the ideal activities of the Buddhist master.

Taken together, these portrayals of student, instructor, mentor and debater and the relationships between them contain the ideals that the *BBH*'s wishes to impress upon its audience. The concreteness of the imagery and the practicality of the deeds of the

Tathāgata are inspirational, but they are also exemplary. They express and reiterate in symbolic fashion the actual deeds and realities that the bodhisattva trainee encounters. Whether they are pleasant, such as in the relationship between teacher and student, or unpleasant, as in confrontation with dissenters, they are all equally part of the bodhisattva path of practice.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary intention of this enquiry has been to explain the principles and practices of Buddhist education as set forth in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*BBH*). It has investigated the strategies used in the *BBH* to incorporate worldly orientations and non-Buddhist learning into an educational scheme consistent with Mahāyāna Buddhist soteriological aspirations. This chapter will review the findings of the study and conclude by addressing the question of how the educational programme practised at Nālandā affected the historical fate of Buddhism in India.

1. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the Bodhisattva Path of Training

The *BBH* is an encyclopedic digest of bodhisattva doctrine and practise that was composed for the education and training of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists. It was written in Sanskrit in the fourth century, C.E. and later became influential in Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism as well. The translation of portions of the *BBH* into European languages in recent decades has drawn attention to its important role in the development of Buddhist doctrine and practice.

Authorship of the *BBH* is attributed to the Indian monk-scholar Asaṅga, who according to tradition, championed all forms of Buddhism, particularly the Mahāyāna.

Asaṅga's life is recorded in Chinese and Tibetan legends. The principal basis for traditional depictions of Asaṅga's philosophical outlook, activities and achievements, are the doctrinal views and general contents of the works attributed to him.

A significant feature of Asaṅga's reputed authorship of the *BBH* is the traditional belief that he received its teachings directly from the celestial bodhisattva Maitreya. This attests to the esteem in which the *BBH* was held, and the authoritative status which it attained amongst many Asian Buddhists. It also reflects the ecumenical and inclusive stance taken by the *BBH* toward Buddhism, in that Maitreya, the coming Buddha, is a figure accepted by all Buddhist schools.

Along with the traditional religious topics presented in the *BBH*, the text describes and sanctions the study of certain non-Buddhist educational subjects, stating that they, too, contribute to the religious goals of enlightenment (*bodhi*) and liberation (*nirvāṇa*). The inclusion of these non-traditional subjects represents a significant development in the Indian Buddhist religious outlook which is also reflected in new educational endeavours undertaken in Indian Buddhist monastic institutions during the middle Mahāyāna period.

The central organizing concept of the *BBH* is the bodhisattva path of training (*bodhisattva-śikṣāmārga*). The views, values and activities of the bodhisattva aspirant are explained in relation to his/her progress on this path of intellectual, moral and spiritual development. The path proceeds from initial potentiality to ultimate perfection through a number of stages (*vihāra*), over the course of many lifetimes.

A unique feature of the *BBH* is the attention it pays to the qualities and characteristics of the novice bodhisattva aspirant. The *BBH* describes the attitudes and exercises that the novice is attempting to master, and delineates the goals and levels of development bodhisattvas seek to attain. The *BBH* draws attention to the cultivation of inherent personal tendencies, stressing the importance of path preparation at the basic stage of "committed action" (*adhimukticaryā*).

The novice bodhisattva engaged in this formative stage of the path is depicted as a beginning student, who either as monk or lay-person, gradually develops to complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*) in the condition of a Tathagata Buddha through application to the six perfections (*pāramitā*): generosity (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), vigour (*vīrya*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom-insight (*prajñā*).

The *BBH*'s integration of these worldly and renunciate perspectives represents a significant development in Buddhist religious doctrine. This study has demonstrated that the *BBH* achieved its synthesis of worldly and religious orientations primarily through expanded interpretations of certain key Buddhist concepts: *dharma*; *prajñā*; and *bodhi*.

The *BBH* espouses the three vehicle (*triyāna*) doctrinal position, which gives the text an inclusivist attitude with respect to all forms of Buddhist religious *dharma*. The *BBH* holds the Mahāyāna position to be foremost amongst Buddhist vehicles, and refers to its particular formulation of *dharma* as "the true teaching of the bodhisattva" (*bodhisattva-saddharma*). The novice bodhisattva engages in the study of *dharma*, which is understood principally by the *BBH* as taking up training in Buddhist religious doctrine

and meditation practice in order to develop knowledge of Buddhism and deepen a commitment to it. Thus, the Buddhist doctrines and tenets, particularly those of the Mahāyāna, are paramount in the *BBH*'s understanding of *dharma* education.

Though the *BBH* defines *dharma* in this traditional way, religious education is incorporated into a unique and more broadly defined system of training in what are called the "five sciences" (*pañca-vidyāsthānāni*). These sciences, include thorough Buddhist doctrinal study (*adhyātmavidyā*), and encompass the study of non-Buddhist religious and philosophical views, as well as logic (*hetuvidyā*), language (*śabdavidyā*) and medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*) and arts and crafts (*śilpakarma-vidyā*). The five sciences are all aspects of a unique interpretation of *dharma* in the *BBH*, and they are to be learned and taught as part of an expanded understanding of what constitutes valid knowledge for a Buddhist.

The elaboration of educational interest embodied in the concept of *dharma* is accompanied by a corresponding elaboration of the definition of *prajñā* ("wisdom-insight"). *Prajñā*, traditionally viewed as the realization of truth in and through Buddhist meditation training, is but one of three kinds of *prajñā* presented in the *BBH*. *Prajñā* includes this transcendental wisdom, but it is also defined as useful general knowledge, viz., knowledge of the five sciences, and most importantly as the application of skill (*upāya*) in assisting and benefiting others in their personal and worldly affairs. *Prajñā* and its perfection thus includes active use of knowledge, insight and expertise derived from religious and non-religious education. *Prajñā* is intended to be used equally for secular, as well as religious purposes.

The ultimate goal of the bodhisattva path of training is the attainment of complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). This condition is generally described in an abstract manner in Buddhism. The *BBH* includes such a description, but also offers a more realistic one, explaining enlightenment as the ripening of innate "enlightenment factors" (*buddha-dharma*) over many lifetimes on the path. These factors, inherent in all bodhisattvas, produce the extraordinary body of the *Tathāgata* Buddha with its thirty-two physical signs of accomplishment.

The *Tathāgata* figure and his signs are believed to mature as the result of gradual accumulation of merit and knowledge derived from the attitudes and activities taken up with the practice of the perfections in pursuit of complete enlightenment. Though this is a traditional belief in Buddhism generally, the causes that develop a *Tathāgata*'s signs and enlightenment factors are described in the *BBH* in a unique way.

The chief theme that distinguishes the *BBH*'s portrayal of behaviour giving rise to the signs is the bodhisattva's attention to his/her duties and activities as a student and a teacher. This theme supports and develops the *BBH*'s quintessential vision of the fully-enlightened Buddha *Tathāgata*, who is literally an "embodiment" of all-knowledge (*sarvajñā*), comprised of every aspect of study and training associated with the different forms of *dharma* and *prajñā*.

2. The Five Sciences as "Appropriate Education"

The *BBH* brings its Mahāyāna religious principles and bodhisattva practices to

bear in the curricular formulation of the five sciences. The *BBH*, nonetheless, raises concerns about the study of non-Buddhist religious subjects, as they have the potential to challenge and weaken Buddhism. Thus there are warnings in the *BBH* not to produce "semblances" of the true teaching, or over-study the non-Buddhist materials. The *BBH* therefore reflects caution and conservativism through its concept of "true teachings" *saddharma* and the bodhisattva code rules emphasising that Buddhist doctrine, which is also the first and foremost of the five sciences, is the only truly "liberating" religious philosophy and therefore deserves primary attention in the course of education.

The reasons stated in the *BBH* for studying the curriculum of the five sciences indicate that this formula was acceptable and appropriate education in a Buddhist context because the subjects share three common features. Learning them contributes to one's own and other's spiritual enlightenment and liberation; studying them preserves and protects the Buddhist *dharma*; and practising them upholds the Mahāyāna commitment to seek ways of benefiting and assisting people generally. Thus, in effect, all five sciences are religiously sanctioned education because engaging in them accords with the goals of Mahāyāna Buddhist practice. The five sciences are considered to be appropriate for the Buddhist student because they all contribute in some way to fostering *dharma*, particularly the *saddharma* of the bodhisattva.

The *BBH*'s combining of traditional religious instruction with the study of non-traditional subjects resulted in new educational standards which remained closely aligned with previous ones. The *BBH* thus maintains a traditional outlook based on essential

Buddhist views and values, yet lends new dimensions to them which allow for innovation in education. In particular, the *BBH* furthers the ideals and tenets of Mahāyāna doctrine, while retaining an inclusive and ecumenical view of Buddhism generally.

3. Models and Ideals

The *BBH* develops role models and ideal types in order to illustrate its depiction of the enlightenment path. The text emphasises the importance of properly studying and training in the bodhisattva practices and transmitting knowledge to others. Thus the *BBH*'s role models are principally designed for students and teachers. The *BBH* is realistic in its presentation, noting problems and difficulties that arise in the educational context, as well as potential weaknesses and fallibilities in both instructors and pupils. The general tendency, however, is to portray ideal types that embody expected characteristics and superior qualities of individuals engaged in educational activities.

The Mahāyāna Buddhist teacher is depicted in four roles: as instructor, mentor, doctrinal specialist and debater. As an instructor and mentor, a teacher's primary responsibilities are to educate, guide and care for students. As a doctrinal specialist and debater, a teacher's scholarly talents are developed and exercised in order to impart knowledge, as well as to defend and advance Buddhist views. The Buddhist teacher uses his/her skills to assist and train others in their intellectual, moral and spiritual development. Exercising these skills is conceived of as practising the perfections, thereby contributing to one's personal quest for enlightenment and liberation as well as

to that of others.

Becoming a fully-accomplished teacher is the most highly-valued personal goal portrayed in the *BBH*. The bodhisattva, training through many lives, becomes steadily better equipped to teach and guide students, and to defend and champion the Buddhist faith. The results of learning and the skills in teaching accumulate from life to life, eventually culminating in the perfection as a *Tathāgata*. The *Tathāgata*'s chief activities are teaching, defending and establishing the three vehicles of *dharma* and assisting beings to make progress toward their own liberation in this or later lives. The ultimate goal of the bodhisattva, and the highest ideal expressed in the *BBH*, is to become such a perfect teacher.

The novice bodhisattva is still a student and teacher-in-training, however, and there is a great deal to be mastered at this initial level. The *BBH* emphasises the importance of the teacher-student relationship, particularly the student's duty to attend to and assist his/her teacher(s). The novice expends constant effort in learning from and serving the teacher, remembering that it is through the grace and kindness of the teacher that one's level of attainment is improved. The caring attitude is reciprocated by the teacher, who is similarly concerned with the student's welfare.

The student who is training to be a teacher must not only become knowledgeable and serve teachers well, he/she must also learn to manage personal feelings and mental states, and deal respectfully and skilfully with others. The six perfections and the rules and codes of morality (*śīla*), which the *BBH* describes in detail, are designed to guide

novice bodhisattvas in this circumspect personal development and interaction with others. The curbing of negative tendencies in oneself, while skilfully teaching students who have a wide range of capacities and dispositions, are basic challenges that the novice bodhisattva faces.

Thus the portrayal of the complete education of the bodhisattva in the *BBH* is intricate and complex. It is acknowledged that not all Buddhists are destined to follow the Mahāyāna vehicle. However, the bodhisattva, once intent on attaining Mahāyāna goals, must take up the path and is expected to remain dedicated to it until its completion. This, then, involves not only the acquisition of knowledge, but also extensive personal development and attention to inter-personal relations. The quest is also dependent on the acquisition, through training and experience, of skills that can help make one's knowledge useful and applicable to others.

4. General Historical Parameters and Nālandā Mahāvihāra

The *BBH* was compiled after the formative period of Mahāyāna's development and before its later, concluding phases. The *BBH* contains and upholds major views and tenets of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva doctrine, including its devotional dimensions, that emerged prior to the *BBH*'s composition. The *BBH* appears to have been written as a considered response to changing educational patterns, or new instructional requirements, amongst Indian Buddhist educators in the middle Mahāyāna period.

The seventh century accounts of Indian Buddhism recorded by the Chinese scholars Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing confirm that the *BBH* was studied at Nālandā Mahāvihāra, a new type of Buddhist monastery founded in the fifth century C.E.. The Nālandā Mahāvihāra educated both monks and laymen, employing the educational curriculum of the five sciences. Nālandā is considered to be the foremost Mahāyāna Buddhist institution of higher learning ever established in India and Buddhists came from many other parts of Asia to study at Nālandā until the thirteenth century, C.E..

The course of instruction at Nālandā was unique for its time and location, representing a departure from the Buddhist monastery's usual concern with principally religious training. Some scholars have referred to the studies at Nālandā as "liberal education", due to the fact that non-Buddhist subjects were included in the curriculum and laymen were educated at the institution. This designation is misleading, however, as it gives the impression that Nālandā's educational approach was highly secularized. Some scholars have even suggested Nālandā was "libertine", which was not the case.

Nālandā remained throughout its history a monastery where Mahāyāna Buddhist religious training was the primary concern. It was not a "co-educational" institution and it was renowned for its strict moral probity, as well as for its high academic standards. While it was not necessary to become a monk to attend Nālandā, "non-cleric" students of Nālandā Mahāvihāra were at least vow-observing laymen. This suggests that Nālandā's educational endeavours, though innovative, were nonetheless cast in a conservative, rather than liberal, mould.

Both the *BBH* and Nālandā Mahāvihāra appeared during the Gupta period (300-550), which was a "Golden Age" in India, characterized by a cosmopolitan, pluralistic, multi-religious society which evidenced an impressive artistic and literary efflorescence. Buddhism appears to have been affected by a variety of related factors during the Gupta period that contributed to the writing of the *BBH* and encouraged the development of the *mahāvihāra*.

There were many divergent doctrinal positions and schools of Buddhist thought at the advent of the Gupta era. Thus, the composition of new scholastic works helped to set forth the tenets of particular schools for systematic study and inquiry. Encyclopedic compositions like the *YBH* with its *BBH* Mahāyāna section went even further, attempting to consolidate Buddhist teachings in a broad and inclusive manner, representing and giving value to multiple levels of doctrine.

At the time of the *BBH*'s composition there were many Mahāyāna *sūtras*, but as yet no standardization of the full range of bodhisattva teachings. The perfections and stages of bodhisattva development had been detailed in theory, but there was a need for works that could offer guidance in the actual application and practice of the path principles. Thus the *BBH* became one of the first texts to serve these purposes, consolidating Mahāyāna bodhisattva doctrine, while offering detailed practice instructions for the bodhisattva aspirant.

In the era prior to the *BBH* and rise of the *mahāvihāra*, there was an expanding Mahāyāna Buddhist community with both lay and renunciate members dedicated to

bodhisattva practice. Consequently there was a need for the formaliz-ation of rites and observances for the Mahāyāna religious life. The *BBH* provided for this in its lengthy morality chapter, in which a bodhisattva ordination ceremony, *Vinaya* rules and a *prātimokṣa* confessional are described in detail. These observances were designed specifically for renunciates and/or ordained lay-persons, who either alone, or in community, were engaged in bodhisattva religious training.

In this way the *BBH* offered a combination of elements for the Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists of the Gupta era: a digest of bodhisattva theory and doctrine, ideals and role models, explanation of practices, and the rules and rites for personal and group observances. The comprehensive character of the *BBH* must have contributed to its popularity amongst Mahāyānists in India, as well as amongst others who adopted it elsewhere in Asia in later times.

In addition to factors within Indian Buddhist tradition, there were also external pressures in the Gupta period that may have served to shape the educational functions of the new monastic *mahāvihāra*s and the style and contents of the *BBH*. Thus, for example, though the Gupta kings supported Buddhism, and even helped to establish Nālandā Mahāvihāra itself, their continued patronage was not automatic; it had to be continually earned.

Many religious groups competed for royal favour and it was incumbent upon Buddhists to learn the doctrines of their competitors in order to show, through intellectual contests and debate, that the Buddhist views, and the monks who championed them, were

superior to those of other schools. Learning the doctrines of non-Buddhists therefore had a pragmatic purpose for the monks of Nālandā. It provided a way to demonstrate the strength of their institution and its training and thereby create a favourable impression and reputation with the secular authorities. The accounts of Hsüan-Tsang and I-Tsing provide ample evidence of the important role that skilled debate played in securing royal patronage and maintaining Nālandā's renown.

Another way of maintaining advantage for one's group amongst these same authorities was to educate the ruling elite and those who served the royal household and government administration. It is evident from the pilgrims' accounts that some students attended Nālandā specifically to acquire reading, writing and numeracy skills in order to properly carry out their governance roles or obtain positions in the administration. This offered another pragmatic reason for the Buddhist *mahāvihāra* to teach non-religious academic subjects: if Nālandā's graduates were well-trained scholastically and thereafter well-placed socially, they were also in positions to influence the fortunes of the Mahāvihāra.

5. The *Mahāvihāra* and Indian Buddhism's Decline

It was previously noted that some scholars view the curriculum of the five sciences and the education of laymen at Nālandā as evidence of a nascent "liberalism" in Buddhism. Sukumar Dutt and L.M. Joshi, for example, espouse the view that the rise of the *mahāvihāras* and their educational pursuits contributed to a precipitous shift in

Buddhism away from traditional preoccupation with religious practice, leading Buddhism toward an ultimately untenable worldly orientation. Dutt calls this shift a movement from "study for faith" to "study for knowledge".[1]

Unlike the present writer, who sees this movement as progressive, Dutt and Joshi view the rise of the *mahāvihāra* as a significant contributing factor to the historical decline of Buddhism in India. This assertion is open to question, however, as the factors involved lend themselves to a quite different interpretation.

Dutt states that prior to the introduction of the new curricular studies, the chief concern of the Buddhist monastery was Buddhist religious education.[2] He is correct in this and also in asserting that the predominant concerns of early Buddhist monasticism were religious and soteriological. Dutt concludes, however, that attention to the new, non-Buddhist studies, caused neglect of traditional concerns, weakening and diluting Buddhism's strength.[3]

There is no disputing that the curriculum of Nālandā Mahāvihāra offered areas of study and topics of investigation that were new and different. The *mahāvihāras* were clearly not meant solely for Buddhist textual study, recitation and meditation. But it does not follow that traditional concerns were neglected, or even any less pronounced, amongst the students of Nālandā. One can point, for example, to the production of Buddhist religious works of the highest calibre by many generations of Nālandā scholars, as well to digests and studies of other religious philosophies analyzed from a Buddhist perspective.[4] These works are some of Indian Buddhism's enduring contributions to the

scholarly world. Thus there is no evidence to support a claim that the Nālandā community was "lax" in matters relating to religious schooling as compared with other traditions or earlier periods of Indian history.

Moreover, it has been shown in the present study that the *BBH* was very much aware of the potential for non-Buddhist religious subjects to weaken and distort Buddhist views. It has also demonstrated that the purpose of training students and teachers in the traditions of other religions was primarily to equip them with the means to defend Buddhism against attack and to champion the Buddhist position. Thus there is no evidence that the approach taken by the *BBH* or at Nālandā was meant in any way to put non-Buddhist religious doctrines and Buddhism on an equal footing. Quite the contrary, the approach was specifically designed to point out the flaws and problems in these other teachings.

Dutt and Joshi also suggest that the faith of the Buddhist monks was jeopardized and eroded due to the influence of the new worldliness on the monastery. Dutt once again implies that the monks of the *mahāvihāras* became less "faithful" because non-Buddhist studies decreased time available for traditional pre-occupations. Joshi goes even further, stating that virtually all aspects of the life-style of the *mahāvihāra* were corrupting influences.[5] These propositions are clearly open to question.

When one considers ways in which Buddhists could have expressed their faith at Nālandā, the activities there take on an important character. Thus, for example, when given the social influences and challenges that Buddhism faced in the period, a principal

way for the scholars and students of Nālandā Mahāvihāra to practice and defend their faith was to be actively involved in the preservation of its doctrines and their community. One of the obvious means of doing this was to compete successfully in society and thereby ensure the support of the Mahāvihāra.

The faithful members of the Mahāvihāra therefore concerned themselves with consolidating Buddhist scholarship, learning the tenets of would-be displacers in order to defend themselves, and developing an institution with an expanded relevance to the community around it. This would appear, on the face of it, to have been an authentic and valuable way to put faith in Buddhism, its heritage and its future, foremost in mind and practice.

It is clear from these examples that care must be taken not to confuse the introduction of "worldly studies" into the Buddhist educational schema with some sort of "corruption" by the world. Certainly there is a change evident in Buddhist monasticism from earlier times to the *mahāvihāra* period. But was this change actually the cause of Buddhism's decline? If one takes the view, as Dutt and Joshi do, that worldliness overcame Buddhism and thereby hastened its demise in India, then the fact that monasteries opened their doors to worldly studies might well be viewed at least as a contributing cause.

Yet there are other factors that would suggest that exactly the opposite was the case. According to some scholars, such as Trevor Ling, Buddhism had already reached its ascendency in the Aśokan period and experienced its most significant period of decline

well before the rise of the *mahāvihāras*.[6] Thus one can turn around the *mahāvihāra*'s detractors' argument and suggest that if the *mahāvihāras* had not emerged to uphold and consolidate Buddhist doctrines and champion its social relevance, Buddhism would have died out in India much earlier than it did. It is an historical fact, in any case, that Buddhism only survived in India as long as the *mahāvihāras* existed.[7]

This writer therefore takes the position that the new *mahāvihāras* can hardly be considered to be principal, or even contributing causes, for the decline of Indian Buddhism since they evolved well after the decline set in. On the contrary, it appears more likely that the *mahāvihāras* served to slow that decline. Thus there is no easily defensible reason for the *mahāvihāras* to be implicated in a supposed "internal decay" in Buddhism. In the end, the demise of the *mahāvihāras* appears to have been caused principally, if not wholly, by hostile, anti-Buddhist forces amongst foreign invaders and within Indian culture itself.[8]

The ostensible shift from a faith-driven quest for liberation to a knowledge-driven quest for worldly pre-eminence is a more complex matter than Dutt and Joshi would make it appear. In the case of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra and its Mahāyāna philosophy of education, an intricate relationship developed between religious faith and certain kinds of general knowledge. There appears to have been a successful incorporation of secular needs and influences which was skilfully managed and made to work to the advantage of Buddhism at the new *mahāvihāra* institutions.

The *mahāvihāra* can, moreover, be shown to have played a central and decisive role not only in the advancement of Buddhism and its religious studies, but also in the advancement of knowledge and culture generally. In the final analysis, one must also look beyond the Indian context to develop a thorough perspective on these issues.

The international effects and long term influence of Nālandā Mahāvihāra, its Buddhist educational system, and its Mahāyāna philosophy of education, are difficult to measure -- not because they are particularly obscure, but because they are extensive and profound. Both the foreign scholars who studied at Nālandā, and the Indian scholars who went from there abroad, took away with them not only Buddhist religious training, but diverse knowledge of a variety of subjects that made these individuals true "culture-bearers". Without their influence, the religious and cultural forms of the Northern Buddhist countries of Tibet and China, and the regions they affected, would neither have developed as they did, nor endured as long as they have.[9] The cultural history of all of Asia was, in fact, affected directly by the Indian Buddhist *mahāvihāra* institutions and the breadth of learning taught and encouraged in them. For these reasons, and also because the fortunes of Buddhism are still being shaped by the effects of the *BBH*, and now, by the activities of the New Nālandā Mahāvihāra, it is safe to say that the views and values of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist education, as analyzed and presented in this enquiry, are still very much alive and operant in the world today.

NOTES

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION IN ASAṄGA'S *BODHISATTVABHŪMI*

CHAPTER NOTES

CHAPTER ONE:

1. Nāgārjuna (ca. 150-250) is identified with the Madhyamika school of Mahāyāna; a considerable amount of literature, particularly *Prajñāpāramitā* ("Perfection of Wisdom") *sūtra* and *śāstra* is associated with him. There is some question as to whether there may have been more than one Nāgārjuna. For traditional Tibetan accounts of his life see *Buston's History of Buddhism*, trans. E. Obermiller (Heidelberg: Harrassowitz, 1931), pp. 122-130; and *Tarānātha's History of Buddhism in India*, trans L. Chimpa and A. Chattopadyaya (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970), pp. 106-119. For traditional Chinese accounts and discussion of the question of "multiple" Nāgārjunas, see M. Walleser, "The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources," in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, ed. Bruno Schindler (London: Probstain, 1923), pp. 421-455.

2. The Yogācāra school developed in India subsequent to the Madhyamika. Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu are considered its major propounders and systematizers. For a general treatment of Yogācāra in a historical-developmental context with reference to principal texts, see A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), pp. 423-462; 542-544. For a concise treatment of Yogācāra thought, see Junjiro Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, eds. Win-tsit Chan and Charles Moore, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973 rpt.).

3. Bustön's *History*, pp. 136-147; Tāranātha's *History*, pp. 149-175; Paramārtha's "Life of Vasubandhu," trans. J. Takakusu (*T'oung Pao*, 1904), Series II, Vol V. pp. 269-296.

4. The works attributed to Asaṅga have received attention from major Buddhist scholars. Translations of his writing, other than those associated with the *Yogācārabhūmi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, include:

Abhidarmasamuccaya. as: *La Compendium de la Super-Doctrine Philosophie, Abhidharmasamuccaya d'Asanga*, trans. Walpola Rahula (Paris: Ecole Extreme Orient, 1971).

Abhisamayālaṃkāra, trans. Edward Conze (Rome: *IMEO*, 1954).

Madhyāntavibhānga. as: *Madhyānta-Vibhānga: Discourse on Discrimination between Middle and Extremes Ascribed to Bodhisattva Maitreya*, trans. Fedor Stcherbatsky. Soviet Indological Series, No. 5. Bibliotheca Buddhica Reprint, Vol 30. (Leningrad: Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1936).

Mahāyānasaṃgraha. as: *La somme du grand vehicule d'Asaṅga Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, trans. Etienne Lamotte (Louvain: Institute Orientaliste, 1973).

Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāra. as: *Asaṅga: MahāyānaSūtralaṃkāra. Expose de la Doctrine du Grand Vehiclue selon le Systeme Yogācāra*, trans. Sylvain Levi (Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Haute Etudes, Paris: H. Champion, 1907-1911) 2 vols.

Triśatikayah Prajñāpāramitāyah Karīka Saptatih, trans. Giuseppe Tucci, in *Minor Buddhist Texts Part 1*. (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma: 1956) pp. 3-128.

5. Traditional accounts of the Buddhist teachers were intended to be informative, particularly with respect to their school and/or lineage affiliation, yet awe-inspiring at the same time. The great masters were considered to be saints would had various supernatural powers, engaged in celestial visits and received visitations, and attained to advanced spiritual states through strenuous efforts. Finding the historical person behind these features is not achieved simply by stripping them away, since the historical data (names, places, deeds, etc.) are not subject to corroboration in most instances either. Some scholars choose to ignore traditional biographies for these reasons.

6. A substantive treatment of Asaṅga's life taking the traditional biographies and the Western scholarly enquiries about them into account can be found in Walpola Rahula, "Asaṅga" in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. G.P. Malalasekera (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1961--, Vol 2, fasc. 1, 1966), pp. 133-146. For treatment of Asaṅga's life relating to the *Yogācārabhūmi*'s composition and texts attributed to Asaṅga, see Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 19-46.

The principal Western scholarly studies which Rahula and Wayman take into account are:

E. Frauwallner, *On the Date of the Buddhist master of the Law Vasubandhu*. Serie Orientale Roma, III (Rome, 1951).

T. Kimura, "The Date of Vasubandhu seen from the Abhidharmakośa" in *Indian Studies in Honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929).

G. Ono, "The Date of Vasubandhu seen from the History of Buddhist Philosophy" in (*Lanman Studies*; ibid).

Noel Peri, "A propos de la date de Vasubandhu" *BEFEO*, XI (1911).

Giuseppe Tucci, "Animadversiones Indicae: 1. On Maitreya, the Yogācāra Doctor" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s. 26 (Calcutta: 1930), pp. 125-128.

--------. *On Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya(ntha) and Asanga*. Calcutta University Readership Lectures. (Calcutta, 1930).

Ui, H. " Maitreya as a historical personage." (*Lanman Studies*, op cit.), pp. 95 ff.

7. The range of dates proposed by scholars lies between the late third to mid-fifth centuries. Wayman decided on the rather precise, but somewhat short lifespan of 375-430 C.E. based on textual provenance., Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p.25.

8. Paramārtha, *Life*, see note #3 above.

9. Bustön, *History*, pp. 136-42; Tāranātha, *History*, pp. 154-167.

10. Bustön, *History*, pp. 136-37; Tāranātha, *History*, p. 161.

11. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 273.

12. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 273; Buston, *History*, p. 137; Tāranatha, *History*, p. 156.

13. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 273.

14. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 273-74; Tāranātha, *History*, p.156.

15. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 274-5; Buston, *History*, p. 139; Tāranātha, *History*, p. 159.

16. Bustön, *History*, p. 139; Tāranātha, *History*, 159;394

17. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 161.

18. Paramārtha, *History*, pp. 290-91; Buston, *History*, p. 144; Tāranātha, *History*, pp. 170-71.

19. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 167.

20. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 166.

21. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 166.

22. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 160.

23. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 157.

24. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 159.

25. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 165.

26. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 160.

27. see discussion in Rahula, "Asaṅga", pp. 135.

28. see discussion in Rahula, "Asaṅga", pp.139 f.

29. see: Graeme MacQueen, "Inspired Speech in early Mahāyāna Buddhism I", (*Religion* 1981) 11: 03-19; and "Inspired Speech in early Mahāyāna Buddhism II", (*Religion* 1882) 12:49-65.

30. For an overview of current scholarly interest in Maitreya, with coverage spanning all Asian Buddhism, see Alan Sponberg, *Maitreya the Future Buddha* (Cambridge: Cambridge Unviersity Press, 1988). For a concise treatment pertaining to the Indian tradition, see Etienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, trans. Sara Boin (Louvain-La-Neuve: Institute Orientaliste, 1988), pp. 699-707.

31. The term "Āgama" is used in this study to indicate the scriptures honoured by various schools of non-Mahāyāna Buddhism amongst which are included the Pali Nikayas of the Theravāda.

32. Sponberg, *Maitreya*, pp. 54 ff

33. *Cakkavattisihanadasuttanta* in *Dialogues of the Buddha (Digha-nikaya)*, trans. and ed. T. W. Thys-Davids (London: Pali Text Society, 1971).

34. Rhys-Davids, *Cakkavatti*, pp. 68-71

35. Rhys-Davids, *Cakkavatti*, pp. 73-74.

36. Rhys-Davids, *Cakkavatti*, p. 72.

37. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 274; Bustön, *History*, pp. 137-138; Tāranātha, *History*, 156-159.

38. Paramārtha, *Life*, p. 274; Bustön, *History*, p. 139; Tāranātha, *History*, p. 158.

39. see Tāranātha, *History*, pp. 393-94.

40. see discussion in Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, pp. 19-46

41. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, pp. 34-41

42. The Five Books of Maitreya are: *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, *Madhyāntavighanga*, *Dharmadharmatavibhanga*; *Uttaratantra*, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, cited in Buston, *History*, pp. 53-54; Tāranātha, *History*, p. 157.

43. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 39

44. Lamotte, *La Somme*, p. 27

45. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 39

46. Lamotte, *La Somme*, p. 34

47. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 41-46

48. The *Yogācārabhūmi* is divided into five main parts. The core of the work is called the *Bahubhumikavastu* ("The Section on the Many Stages"), and is comprised of seventeen separate sub-sections, the fifteenth of which is the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* ("Stage of the Bodhisattva"). According to tradition, the seventeen stages which are the main body of the *Yogācārabhūmi* were expounded by Maitreya Bodhisattva when he descended to earth to teach at Asaṅga's request. Thus this core element is referred to in some instances as the *Sutra of the Seventeen Stages*.

Asaṅga is said to have provided a commentary on the seventeen stages as they were being taught; this forms the second major division of the *Yogācārabhūmi*: the *Viniscaya Saṃgraha*. The third major division is the *Vastu Saṃgrahani*, which provides a general concordance of the topics discussed, with regard to their placement within the three standard bodies of scriptures (*Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidharma*). The

fourth major division is the *Paryaya Saṃgrahani*, which is a concordance of terms and synonyms used in the discussion of topics. The fifth major division is the *Vivārana Saṃgrahani*, which expands on the methods of teaching the topics contained in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The *Bahubhūmikavastu* with its seventeen stages corresponds in length to the total of four *saṃgrahani*.

49. If, in fact, the *Yogācārabhūmi* was written over a lengthy period of time and by several individuals, it does not betray notable changes in language style and usage, or contradict itself in its doctrinal statements. Thus it is a "coherent" text with a known history from the early fifth century.

50. This is evident from Atisa's frequent reference to the *BBH* in the *Bodhicāryāvatāra*, trans. Richard Shelburne as *A Lamp for the Path and the Commentary of Atiṣa*. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1983), pp. 52-55 and passim.

51. see Lamotte, *La Somme*, bibliography

52. There are three main extant Chinese translations. For a detailed discussion of the *BBH*'s role in China see: *Fuo-guang da ci dian* ed. Chi Yi (Fuo Guang Publishing House, Taiwan 1989), p. 5215; 5531-32.

53. For discussion of the *BBH*'s role in Tibet see Mark Tatz, *Asaṇga's Chapter on Morality with the Commentary of Tsong-kha-pa* (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1986), pp. 31-37.

54. There is active Tibetan scholarly interest in the *BBH*, principally through the works of Tshong-kha-pa who cites the *BBH* in many of his commentaries. See, for example, Alex Wayman, *Ethics of Tibet: The Bodhisattva Section of Tsong-kha-pa's Lam Rim Chen Mo* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

55. *Bodhisattvabhūmi: A Statement of the Whole Course of the Bodhisattva*. ed. Unrai Wogihara (original 1936). Sanskrit text with introduction. (Sankibo Buddhist Book Store: Tokyo, 1971 prt.).

This version is the reference source for the *BBH* page citations made in this study.

56. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Edited by Nalinaksha Dutt. Sanskrit text with introduction and synopsis. Tibetan-Sanskrit Works Series. (Patna: Jayaswal, 1966).

57. Cecil Bendall and La Vallee Poussin. "Bodhisattva-Bhumi: A Textbook of the Yogācāra" in *Le Museon* vi, 1905, pp. 38-52 (ch. 1-2); vii, 1906, pp. 213-30 (ch 3-4); xii, 1911, pp. 155-191 (ch.5-8).

58. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Chapter 2: "Literary History"; Chapter 3: "Language".

59. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932).

60. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (KLM Publishers, New Delhi, 1973).

61. Paul Demieville, *Le Chapitre de la Bodhisattvabhūmi sur la Perfection du Dhyana*, original by Rocznik Orientalistcnzy, Warsaw, 1957, reprinted in *Choix Etudes Bouddhiques* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973).

62. Janice Willis, *On Knowing Reality: the Tattvārtha Chapter of Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

63. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, see note 53

64. Demieville, *Dhyāna*, p. 300.

65. see, for example, Mkhas Grub Rje's statement on the *BBH*, in *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*, trans. F.D. Lessing and A. Wayman (Dehli: Motitlal Banarsidass, 1978), p. 99

66. Willis, *Tattva Chapter*, p. ix

67. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 16.

68. The draft translation by Clarke, et.al, is the primary source for quotations cited from the *BBH*. The draft was based on Wogihara's and Dutt's Sanskrit original(s), thus I have checked the draft against these for errors and omissions. I also compared the draft with previously translated sections of the *BBH* in Bendall and La Vallee Poussin, Demieville, Tatz and Willis. Amendments were made to the draft in some cases in order to standardize the English usage. Sanskrit terms that are relevant to discussions at hand have been inserted in the final English rendering. The *prajñā paṭalam* discussed in chapter six of this study is my own rendering.

69. see discussion in Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*. (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 29-33

70. see, for example, Daisaku Ikeda, *Buddhism, the First Millennium*, trans. Burton Watson (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1978), pp. 80 ff.; aslo Richard Robinson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*. (Belmont: Dickinson, 1970), pp. 49-107.

71. The exact number of Mahāyāna sutras that was generated during the developing period will never be known, though dozens whose existence is not established from standard canonical cataloques are quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. trans. Cecil Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971 rpt.), pp. 320-324.

72. see, for example, Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970 rpt). pp. 201 ff.

73. Arguing for or against extensive lay influence in the emergence of the Mahāyāna has been a major pre-occupation amongst scholars interested in the subject. The view that the Mahāyāna was not a populist movement, and may have originated in small groups in the monasteries under the leadership and direction of learned monks, has recently gained ground with the analysis of archaeological and inscriptural remains. For a summary discussion of the general field, see Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 20-26.

74. The term "basket" (*piṭaka*) is used in general Buddhist parlance to signify a collection, or set of volumes, of specific types of Buddhist scripture, for example, the *Sutrapiṭaka* ("Basket of Teachings"), *Vinaya-piṭaka* ("Basket of Discipline") and *Abhidharmapiṭaka* ("Basket of Doctrinal Formulae"). This usage also applies in the *BBH*, and is used particularly to single out Mahāyāna *sūtra* collection. see discussion following.

75. These sets in some instances conform to general Buddhist usage or to specific Mahāyāna categories. In the majority of cases they appear to be unique to this text and are used in its particular rendition of Mahāyāna bodhisattva teachings.

76. Bendall and Rouse, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, see note 71.

77. Yün-hua Jan, "Dimensions of Indian Buddhism," in *Malalasekera Commemorative Volume*, ed. O. Wijesekera (Colombo: 1976), p. 160.

78. *BBH* I:xiv:215

79. *BBH* III:v:409

80. The *BBH* refers, for example, to "source materials of the bodhisattvabasket" *BBH* I:17:274. See also discussion of *saddharma* in chapter three.

81. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 31; Wayman, *Ethics of Tibet*, p. 7-9

82. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 27; Dutt, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Skt edition, p. 9

83. *BBH* III:vi:403

84. for example: *BBH* I:vi:105, "*dharma* of the sūtras": *BBH* I:xvii:255, "appear in the sūtras".

85. for example, *BBH* I:xviii:295, "as explained in the stations" and others, generally in the later chapter of the text.

86. for example, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is referred to at *BBH* III:vi:389.

87. The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* is referred to in the body of the text by name at *BBH* ii:iv:357; the self-description is likely not meant to be confused with it.

88. References to the *Daśabhumika* at *BBH* II:iv:332; 339; 340.

89. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 271-272

90. *BBH* III:iv:385

91. *BBH* I:iv:48; also discussion at Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, pp. 119-21.

92. *BBH* II:xvii:280

93. Wayman, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, p.37

94. for example at: *BBH* I:xvii:262;265

95. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, pp. 13-19

96. A *Lakṣana sūtra* is referred to at: *BBH* III:iv:377.

97. There is paraphrasing of the *Sigalovāda suttānta* at *BBH* I:xvii: 255 and of the *Cakkavattisihanādasuttānta* at: *BBH* I:xvii:253. For further discussion of the latter, see chapter three below.

98. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, p.45 and footnote #117.

99. The most notable is in the nine-fold scheme of the *pāramitās* in reference to the "virtuous person" (*satpuruṣa*) category which is also used in the Anguttara Nikaya to list qualities of a person who is established in *dharma*, e.g. A.II.230 f.

100. The *Kamasutra* is referred to at: *BBH* III:vi:389

101. Dutt, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Skt text intro, p. 33

102. See discussion of the five sciences in chapter five

103. Powers: *BBH* I:v:58-77; *BBH* II:iv:317-358 *BBH* III:vi:384-410.

104. For example, in the *prabhāva* chapter (*BBH* I:v) there is a description of the bodhisattva attaining the power to go to the "fields of the Tathagatas" to hear *dharma* see *BBH* I:v:58-77.

105. *BBH* I:xvi:231-249

106. There is likewise no reference to tantra, tantric texts or to meditational practices (*sadhana*) of the tantric type. There is one specific mantric formula designed to develop patience which is presented and discussed in the text at *BBH* I:xvii:273.

107. This is difficult to avoid given the title of the *YBH* encyclopedia and also the fact that Asanga is associated with Yogācāra philosophy both on the basis of other texts attributed to him, as well as by the views of received tradition. However, there is growing interest in re-evaluating the relationship between the Yogācāra and Madhyamika "schools"; as a consequence the traditional divisions between these two are being re-thought. For recent examples of this see: Gadjin Nagao, *Madyamika and Yogācāra*, ed. Leslie Kawamura (Albany: SUNY, 1991), pp. 219-225; and Ian Charles Harris, *The Continuity of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 63-83.

108. see chapter three, footnote 28

109. Scholars such as Lamotte and Wayman have noted the *triyana* position of the text, which is one indicator of this broader character. This aspect is discussed in chapter three following. Generally, however, many still think of the *BBH* as Bendall and Rouse did, as a "Text-Book of the Yogācāra School".

110. Of the Western scholars cited above who have worked on the *BBH* to any great extent, it is particularly Janice Willis who has made note of this characteristic of the *BBH*. This is mainly in the context of what appears to her to be a desire by Asaṅga to harmonize the early realism of the Hīnayāna with the later "higher philosophy" of the Madhyamika view of *śūnyatā*. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, p. 15.

111. See Harris' discussion of the complementary nature of Madhyamika and Yogācāra philosophical positions as "Mahāyāna thinking", Harris, *On the Continuity*, pp. 71 ff. Also Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, pp. 13-29

112. This absence does not, in itself, offer any clear evidence that the text is not advocating a "Yogācāra" position. Nonetheless, given the fact that the development of the Tathāgata is one of the major themes of the *BBH*, it would certainly have been an appropriate place to refer to, and employ these concepts. The fact that the *BBH* takes a very "realistic" approach to the Tathagata development with its *buddhadharma* notions would have also been an ideal opportunity to "locate" these characteristics in a primordial mind-stream. This, however, is not done. For discussion of the *buddhadharmas* see chapter seven.

113. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, pp. 24 ff;

114. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, p. 18

115. The compatability of the two modes of describing "reality" -- as two truths according to the Madhyamika, and three natures according to the Yogācāra --is given a more detailed discussion in Harris, *On the Continuity*, pp. 102-131.

116. Nagao, *Madhyamika and Yogācāra*, p. 189

117. Harris, *On the Continuity*, pp. 75 ff

118. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 27 .

119. *BBH* III:vi:407

120. The full colophon reads as follows:

" Whatever god, or man, ascetic or brahmin in the divine or human worlds who, having produced firm belief in the *Stages of the Bodhisattva*, shall study, take up, and memorize it and from the standpoint of practice either shall apply himself to it, or expound it extensively to others, and memorize it, having copied it, and shall perform worship and service to it, or in sum, he should expect as large a mass of merit as the Lord has spoken of, clarified, divulged, informed and explained in reference to the activities of study, and so forth, of the scriptures which are included in the whole Bodhisattva collection. And why? Because all the topics and explanations of the whole Bodhisattva collection are included and taught in this *Stages of the Bodhisattva*." *BBH* III:vi:410.

CHAPTER TWO: NOTES

1. Nālandā Mahāvihāra is commonly referred to as a university due to its size, diversity of studies in higher education, and the nature of its student body. On account of its these factors, A.L. Basham refers to Nālandā as the most famous of the "true universities" of the Middle Ages in India. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*. (London: Sidwick and Jackson, 1954), p.154. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motlilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 463, calls Nālandā the most famous of the "great universities" of India.

Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962) devotes a chapter to the activities of *mahā-vihāras* which he considered to be universities, of which Nālandā is foremost; see Part V:ch. 2 " Mahāvihāras that functioned as universities" pp. 328-348.

For a brief discussion of how Nālandā warrants the term "university" in comparison with Western institutions that are so called, see H.D. Sankalia, *The Nālandā University*. (Delhi: Oriental Publishers 1972), pp. 1-4.

2. The other major Mahāvihāras, known from records and/or site locations, are Vallabhi in Western India, and Odantapura, Vikramaśīla, Somapura and Jagaddalla in the North-East. For discussion see Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries* on Vallabhi, pp. 224-232; on Odantapura, et. al., pp. 353-380. Warder adds to these several smaller institutions of which little is known; Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 464.

3. Buddhist and Jain scriptures refers to Nālandā as a prosperous village that was supportive of the religiuex; it is later also associated with the missionary efforts of Aśoka Maurya. For a discussion of the pre-Mahāvihāra tradition of Nālandā with citations see Sankalia, *Nālandā University*, pp. 36-44.

4. Archaelogical site data is reviewed in Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 329-331; inscriptional evidence with thorough referencing is found in K.L. Hazra, *Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India* (Delhi: D.K. Publications, 1984), pp. 206-238.

5. For discussion of the Pāla support of Nālandā and other Buddhist institutions, see Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 344-380.

6. The student enrolment estimates are based on the accounts of Hsüan Tsang and I-Tsing discussed below. Hsüan Tsang's figures tend to be higher.

7. For short discussions of the final days of Nālandā see Sankalia, *Nālandā University*, pp. 238-247; Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 346-348. See also below, chapter 8, notes 7. and 8..

8. The Tibetan monk Dharmasvamin studied at Nālandā in 1234, leaving a record of the site virtually destroyed with only few members left. See George Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959).

9. Nālandā became the site for a Indian Buddhist Research center and was re-consecrated as a Buddhist religious establishment shortly before the Buddha Jayanti festivities celebrating 2500 years of Buddhism. The site has been developed to show its archaeological remains and there are new buildings for scholarly and religious study. Research findings and papers are published there on an intermittent basis. This writer attended the International Association of Buddhist Studies Conference at Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra in 1980.

10. For discussion of Buddhism's institutional development prior to the Guptas and Nālandā, see Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 35-165. For descriptions of early Buddhist institutional practices, see Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*. (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1960); and G.S.P. Misra, *The Age of Vinaya* (Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1972).

11. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, p. 61

12. Dutt is principally concerned with the Mahāvihāra's change in emphasis from "study for faith" to "study for knowledge", though he does make reference to a gradual change in Buddhism that made it more like Brahmanical Hinduism. See Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, p. 320-321 and also chapter 8, notes 3. and 6.

13. This composite of four areas is the writer's formulation, though these factors are acknowledged separately in others works. See discussion following.

14. The Gupta period has received scholarly attention of varying quality. Worthwhile individual treatments of the Gupta era with extensive resource citations include: Sarla Khosla, *Gupta Civilization* (Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1982); Haldhar Pathak, *Cultural History of the Gupta Period* (Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1978); General treatments can be found in R.C. Majumdar, *Advanced History of India* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp. 137-147; 184-201; and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and G. Srinivasachari, *Advanced History of India* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970), pp 136-181.

15. For discussion of elements of Gupta period see Khosla, *Gupta Civilization*: social and economic life, pp. 26-74; religious life pp. 75-95; literature, the arts and architecture pp. 109-205; Pathak, *Cultural History*: social and economic conditions pp. 40-125; religious life and culture, pp. 127-166; literature, the arts and architecture, pp. 201-295.

16. The Guptas were Vaishnavites, though they patronized Saivite Hinduism, as well as Jainism and other religious groups. Buddhist institutions appear to have been fostered particularly as educational centers rather than religious institutions. See Khosla, *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 97-107; Pathak, *Cultural History*, pp. 167-200.

17. The range of development includes many formative treatises in the so-called "orthodox" schools of Hinduism, also including Samkhya, Yoga, Mimamsa, and so forth. Pathak, *Culture History*, pp. 162-166;

18. Kalidasa, Bhrtrhari, Bharavi and other important Sanskrit poets and writers lived in this period, during which many of the *puranas*, *smritis* and major law codes were completed. Sastri, *Advanced History*, pp. 218-224

19. For a brief account of the post-Mauryan "period of invasions" up to the Gupta period see Basham, *The Wonder*, pp. 57-62. For a detailed discussion of the state of Buddhism within a century of the Guptas, see Etienne Lamotte, *History*, pp. 443-494.

20. For a detailed historical discussion of the origin and development of Buddhist sects, with copious references, see Lamotte, *History*, pp. 517-548; also see Nalinaksha Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*. (Calcutta: K.L.M. Publishers, 1970) for doctrinal differences.

21. See Pathak, *Culture History*, pp. 126-155; Kholsa, *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 86-95.

22. For a thorough introduction to the range of Mahāyāna sutra doctrines see Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, op. cit.

23. For a depiction of the full range of the Mahāyāna "pantheon", see Alice Betty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. Revised edition (Rutland Vt.: C.E. Tuttle, 1962).

24. The four major doctrinal groups with comparable bodies of scripture (i.e., sutra, vinaya, abhidharma) are identified by Hsüan Tsang and I-Tsing as active in India are the Mahāsaṇghika, Sthavīra, Mūlasarvāstivādin, and Sammitya. For a discussion of the relationship of these and their origins see Lamotte, *History*, pp.529-549; Dutt, *Buddhist Sects*, pp. 60-233

25. According to the Chinese Travellers', several Gupta monarchs favoured Nālandā with particular attention, even becoming monks, but this was hearsay by their time; there is no direct evidence for this. There is also no evidence of any other major public learning centers besides the Buddhist ones. see Khosla, *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 1-26; 97-107.

26. Tāranātha, *History*, p. 167

27. The list of scholars associated with Nālandā is lengthy, beginning with Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, ranging through Dinnāga, Candrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, and Śāntideva, to Śāntarākṣita, Kamalaśīla, and Chandragomin. see Sankalia, *Nālandā University*, pp. 123-150 and Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 277-293.

28. These pilgrims accounts can be found in the following translations : Fa-Hien and Sun Yung in Hsüan Tsang's *Si Yu Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. Samuel Beal. Originally London: Trubner, 1881 2 vols. (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp. 1968), pp. xxiii-cviii. Fa Hien's own account is in *Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdom's*, trans. James Legge (Oxford: Oxford U Press, 1886). Short summaries about Fa-Hien, Sun Yung and Hui Sheng are found in *The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*, trans. H.S. Yan, et al (Seoul: Asian Humanities Press 1983), pp. 7-22.

29. These accounts are substantially longer and more detailed than the others and were written on the basis of lengthy residence in Indian Buddhist areas as well as in Buddhist institutions beyond India's borders.

30. see Alan Sponberg, "Hsüan Tsang," in M. Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*. (New York, MacMillan, 1987), Vol 6. pp. 480-482.

31. see Alan Sponberg, "K'uei Chi" in M. Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*. (New York, MacMillan, 1987), Vol 8. pp. 493-95.

32. Hsüan-Tsang's accounts are found in Shaman Hui Li's *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, trans. Samuel Beal. Originally London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1911 (Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1973; *Si Yu Ki*, trans. Samuel Beal, see note 28; *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, trans. Thomas Watters. Originally London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904-1905 (Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1961 rpt); and *She Kia Fang Che*, trans. P.C. Bagchi (Santiniketan: Santiniketan Press, 1959).

33. I-Tsing's account is recorded in *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malaya Archipelego*, trans. Junjiro Takakusu. Originally Oxford: Clarendon, 1896. (Cleveland: University of Cincinatti photo- reproduction.

n.d.).

34. I-Tsing's account is more useful from an ethno-historical viewpoint, because he is concerned, first and foremost, with the monk's proper behaviour, rather than philsophy.

35. James Hasting, ed.. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1921, Vol. 12, pp. 841-42.

36. Hsüan-Tsang's involvement in the T'ang era included not only scholarly work, but an active political career. See Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 24-31.

37. For a summary of the Chinese translation history of the *Yogācārabhūmi and Bodhisattvabhūmi see Fuo guan* Buddhist enculopedia, p. 5215; 5531-32.

38. *Fuo-guang da ci dian* (Buddhist Encyclopedia), Fuo Guang Publishing House, Taiwan 1989, pp. 5531-32.

39. In Beal, *Life*: "Yogaśāstra" p. 39, 85, 108, 120, 121, 133, 139, 153, 154,; "Yogachāriyabhūmiśāstra" p. 88, 169;" Yogabhūmiśāstra" p. 174; "Yoga": p. 157, 210.

40. Beal, *Life*, p. 152; 190

41. Beal, *Life*, pp. 39-40

42. H.T. recounts that Durgā worshippers every autumn look for a man of "good form and comely features" to sacrifice. Beal, *Life*, p. 86.

43. Beal, *Life*, p. 87-89

44. Beal, *Life*, p. 88

45. Beal, *Life*, p. 107

46. Beal, *Life*, p. 108.

47. Beal, *Life*, pp. 107-109.

48. Beal, *Life*, pp. 120-21

49. Takakusu, *Record*, p. xxxiii

50. Takukusu, *Record*, p. 186

51. For a discussion of economic life under the Guptas, including the endowment of monasteries, see Khosla, *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 45-74; also Hazra, *Royal Patronage*, pp. 229-230.

52. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 87

53. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 177-178

54. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 112

55. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 112

56. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 112

57. Hsüan-Tsang's accounts are replete with stories of debates, challenges and conversion. Interesting examples can be found at Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 105, 109-110, 263, 273

58. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 61

59. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 65

60. Beal, *Life*, p. 113. The four requisites are the traditional needs of the monks: robes, food, bedding and medicine.

61. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 63.

62. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 171

63. Hsüan-Tsang states that only two or three out of ten actually gain admission, presumably to religious studies, and even those that are admitted are "humbled" by the admission procedure. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 171

64. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol II. p. 164

65. Beal, *Life*, p. 112

66. Beal, *Life*, p. 112

67. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 105-106

68. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 106.

69. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 106

70. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 106

71. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 179

72. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 180

73. Sankalia devotes a chapter to the international character of Nālandā and its alumni. Sankalia, *Nālandā University*, pp. 220-238

74. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 170

75. Beal, *Life*, p. 111.

76. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 181.

77. Hsüan-Tsang reports that Nālandā was so well respected that imposters used its name to get positions. Watter, *Yuan Chwang*, p. 165.

78. Nālandā's scholars produced noteworthy studies and compendia of non-Buddhist doctrine, used to train student debaters. For a list and discussion of Nālandā texts see Sankalia, *Nālandā Mahāvihāra*, pp. 123-150.

CHAPTER THREE: NOTES

1. The terms *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha* recur frequently in the *BBH*. Arranged hierarchically for the purposes of the text's Mahāyāna exposition, they refer to Buddhist religious "types" that are recognized in the pre-Mahāyāna, and also presented there as levels of spiritual attainment. *Śrāvaka* (Pali: *savaka*) appears in the Pāli *Āgama* literature with two distinct, though related connotations, which are carried over into the *BBH*. A *śrāvaka* is an individual who listens carefully to the teachings of the master and seeks to understand them by relying on the teacher's explanation. That which is not understood is accepted on faith. Thus the term *śrāvaka* is sometimes translated as "auditor" (Lamotte, *History*, p.45).

The term *ārya śrāvaka* ("noble disciple") is used to specify more distinctly those Buddhists who have taken up religious precepts -- either as renunciates orf lay-people. In addition to listening (*śrūta*), the *ārya śrāvaka* is engaged in morality (*śīla*), generosity (*tyāga*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) (Lamotte, *History*, p. 67). The present discussion uses the term "disciple" to translate *śrāvaka*, though the text is occasionally making a distinction based on the first-mentioned use of the term. The word "auditor", though technically correct, doesn't convey the sense of "engagement" in which the *śrāvakas* are actually involved.

The term *pratyekabuddha* (Pali: *paccekabuddha*) refers to an individual who becomes a Buddha "on his own", i.e., without teachers in his final life. Thus, Gautama Buddha satisfied the basis qualification of being a *pratyekabuddha*. However, the *pratyekabuddha*, unlike Gautama or other Tathāgata Buddhas, does not teach the realization of truth, and indeed cannot, because he has neither developed a sufficiently clear understanding of *dharma*, nor the specific powers to do so. The term *pratyeka* thus has the connotation of one who has become enlightened and attained to *nirvāṇa*, on his own; he also remains "alone", in that he does not share, by teaching, the condition he has attained. The term "solitary Buddha" is, once again, something of a compromise.

For a full discussion and comparison of the various dimensions of these concepts see Ria Kloppenberg, *The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974); a more recent volume devoted to the *paccekabuddha* but without comparative discussion is Martin Wiltshire, *Ascetic Figures Before and In Early Buddhism* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990).

2. John Carter, *Dhamma: Western Academic and Sinhalese Buddhist interpretations* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1978), pp. 166-167.

3. see: *PTSD*, p. 675; for variations (German) and general discussion see Geiger, Magdelene and Wilhelm. *Pali Dhamma: vornemlich in der kanonischen literature*. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Band XXXI, May 1920. (Munchen: Verlag der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920), pp. 53-54.

4. see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press), pp. 66-68.

5. Carter, *Dhamma*, p. 166; Nattier, *Once Upon*, p.67

6. Nattier, *Once Upon*, pp. 68-72

7. The term *dharma* will be discussed in its own right in the following chapter. See Appendix A for a list of compounds and occurences of *dharma*.

8. The term *saddharma* and its compounds occur on the following pages in the *BBH*. (x= multiple occurence).

Saddharma: 14x, 17, 56, 75, 82x, 93, 101x, 158x, 213, 220, 229, 241, 253x, 275, 289x, 296x, 297x, 328x, 336, 355x, 410x

asaddharma: 100, 102 *bodhisattvasaddharma*: 14, 14X

9. One of the implicit connotations of *asaddharma* is that it is, or leads to, behaviour contrary to moral behaviour generally, i.e., it is "sinful", thus *PTSD*, p.87.

10. For description of the defilements and the path for their removal according to Theravāda see *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga) by Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosa*, trans. Bhikkhu Nanamoli (Colombo: A Semage, 1964).

11. *BBH* I:viii:100

12. *BBH* I:viii:102

13. *BBH* I:viii:101

14. *BBH* I:xvii:296

15. For a thorough discussion of the Arhat concept both in the Theravādin tradition and in selected Mahāyāna writings see: I. B. Horner, *The Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*. Originally 1936 (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975 rpt.) For a study of the *arhat* in the Pali literature and some comparison with bodhisattva and *mahāsiddha*

(tantric) figures, see Nathan Nathan, *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982).

16. *BBH* I:xviii:296

17. For discussion of the attainment of cessation in the Theravāda, Vaibhaṣika and Yogācāra schools, see: Griffiths, Paul. *On Being Mindless: Buddhist Meditation and the Mind-Body Problem.* La Salle: Open Court, 1986. Discussion of Theravāda: pp. 1-42.

18. "Irreversibility" refers to the bodhisattva's complete stability on the path, such that he cannot fall back or be attracted to "lower" paths. It is completion of the seventh *vihāra* level of the *BBH* and the seventh *bhūmi*-stage of the bodhisattva path according the *Daśabhūmika sūtra*. see Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 281; 289-90.

19. *BBH* I:ii:13.

The training of women in the bodhisattva path of training is regrettably not given any specific or separate attention in the *BBH*. There are, in fact, only three passages offering an indication of how womanhood is viewed. These are as follows:

"The bodhisattva seeks to be a man in his future births. This is caused by delighting in manhood and not delighting in womanhood and by seeing the faults in womanhood and dissuading those who delight in the womanhood of women. It is also caused by saving animals from castration." *BBH* I:iii:29

"A bodhisattva endowed with manhood has become, due to his manhood, a vessel of all good qualities, of all endeavours, and of distinguishing all knowables. He is fearless, without obscuration and is always involved in associating with beings or speaking (with them) or assisting (them) or enjoying (with them) or living in solitude; that is know as the result of the bodhisattva's manhood."
BBH I:iii:31

"A woman cannot attain complete enlightenment (*anuttara-samyaksambodhi*). Why? Because a bodhisattva abandons womanhood in the past, in the first immeasurable eon, and thus until attaining the core of enlightenment is no longer born as a woman. It is also because all women are naturally very afflicted and endowed with corrupt wisdom. A personal contiuum naturally very afflicted and endowed with corrupt wisdom cannot attain enlightenment". *BBH* I:vii:94

The sentiments expressed in the last passage indicate that women are considered constitutionally inferior to men in their capacity for ultimate spiritual

attainment. The second passage reflects what may be taken as men's greater social freedom; women are not able to move about as freely as men. Nonetheless, a bodhisattva may be male or female for the first eon of the path, which is the level of the "novice" bodhisattva before attaining the first bhūmi, discussed in the following chapter. This, in theory, allows any woman to be considered at least a beginner bodhisattva, which is in effect what the *BBH* suggests most of its listeners actually are.

In practice, at least as far as the religious training at Nālandā is concerned, women were not included in the formal educational progamme there. One cannot say either on the basis of the *BBH* or the Chinese travellers' accounts whether women were privy to the bodhisattva teachings at other venues or not.

It will be the policy in this study, therefore, to use the form "he/she" when the novice bodhisattva is being discussed, and the male pronoun when speaking about the higher level bodhisattvas and the Tathāgata.

20. *BBH* I:ii:14

21. *BBH* I:ii:14

22. *BBH* I:ii:14

23. *BBH* I:ii:14

24. *BBH* I:ii:15

25. *BBH* I:ii:17

26. *BBH* II:iv:328

27. *BBH* III:iv:336

28. References to *yāna*, *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha*
(x= multiple occurences)

Hīnayāna: 223, 333, 335, 349

Mahāyāna: 1, 12, 17, 43, 46, 55, 56, 78, 102, 223, 259, 293, 308, 357

Śrāvakas & Pratyekas: 3x, 4x, 15, 16, 19, 38x, 58, 59, 64, 65, 68, 76, 77x, 85, 86, 164x, 173, 190, 282x, 287, 295, 325, 348x, 350, 393, 402x,404, 409

Śrāvakayāna & Pratyekabuddhayāna: 40, 78, 101, 102, 173, 223, 259, 281, 293x, 308x

Tathāgatabuddhayāna: 213

Triyāna: 87, 293, 309, 400

29. *BBH* p. 87, 293, 309, 400

30. For a short discussion of the *yāna* concept see Bhikshu Sangharakṣita, *A Survey of Buddhism* (Bangalore: Indian Institute of World Cutlure, 1966), pp. 220-228 and Katz, *Buddhist Images*, pp. 276-79; for details and discussion of the *triyāna* or *ekayāna* positions of various Mahāyāna sutras see Etienne Lamotte, *The Teachings of Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, trans. Sarah Boin (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul for the Pali Text Society, 1976). pp. 163-65; 303-307.

31. Lamotte, *Teachings*, p. 304, states that the *BBH* "implies" that the three vehicles lead to respective *bodhi*'s and that Asaṅga "accepts, it seems" that *nirvāṇa* can likewise be attained by *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and bodhisattvas. The present investigation, which looks more closely at these issues, is more certain about the matter.

32. *BBH* I:vii:101 ; III:vi:400

33. These basic doctrines are common to all Buddhist schools and even the Mahāyāna schools that hold the *ekayāna* position, or in other ways "transcend" these teachings or add others do not deny that the Buddha taught them.

34. The matter of "ultimate liberation" is a topic that has naturally received considerable attention in the study of Buddhism, as it represents the summum bonum of the path practice for all schools. For a survey of how Western scholars have approached and understood *nirvāṇa*, see Guy Welbon, *The Buddhist Nirvana and its Western Interpreters*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1968.

35. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* states this quite simply, saying that the thought of enlightenment is produced by those who desire that the family of the triple gem (i.e., Buddhists) should never die out. Thus, unless there are bodhisattvas who strive to be Tathāgatas, Buddhism in all forms would become extinct; Lamotte, *Teachings*, p. 180.

36. This is not the view of certain Mahāyāna texts that hold the "one vehicle" (*ekayāna*) position, of which the Lotus of the True Law (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) is a leading example. The *ekayāna* insists that the Mahāyāna is the only valid path, while the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha* vehicles are temporary and "non-ultimate" vehicles that have to be abandoned or transcended in order to complete the

path to liberation via the Mahāyāna.

The term *saddharma*, when used in the Lotus Sūtra, is therefore employed to uphold this *ekayāna* position, which the *BBH*, on the contrary, does not hold. The term *ekayāna* does not appear in the *BBH*, nor are there any references to conflicts of views that may have existed between the *triyāna* and *ekayāna* stances. The *BBH*'s *triyāna* position, however, is abundantly obvious.

For discussion of the *ekayāna* position, see: D. Seyfort Ruegg, " The *gotra*, *ekayāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* theories of the Prajnaparamita according to Dharmakirti and Abhāyakaragupta" and Kunst, Arnold. "Some Aspects of the *Ekayāna*" in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*, ed. Lewis Lancaster (Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series, 1977), pp. 283-312; 313-323 respectively.

37. *BBH* III:vi:400

38. *BBH* I:xviii:297

39. *BBH* I:xviii:298

40. *BBH* I:xviii:298

41. *BBH* I:xviii:298

42. *BBH* I:xviii:298

43. *BBH* I:vi:78

44. *BBH* I:vi:79

45. *BBH* I:viii:209

46. *BBH* I:i:iv

47. *BBH* I:i:3

48. *BBH* II:iv:357 ; *BBH* III:vi:408-9.

49. see Lamotte, *Teachings*, p. 397; Ruegg, "*Gotra* and *Yāna*", pp. 295 ff.

50. *BBH* III:iv:371

51. see discussion below, chapters 6 and 7.

52. Jan Nattier's study of the many variations of the "Death of Dharma" motif offers comparative time-tables of decline, as well as a comparative analysis of causes, effects and outcomes. For time-tables see: Nattier, *Once Upon*, pp. 27-64. Etienne also discusses the versions of decline in some detail, quoting original sources. See Lamotte, *History*, 191-202.

53. Nattier, *Once Upon*, 66-79

54. Nattier, *Once Upon*, pp. 27-64; Lamotte, *History*, pp. 192-198.

55. Nattier, *Once Upon*, 119-132; Lamotte, *History*, pp. 198-202.

56. Lamotte, *History*, p. 192

57. Jan Nattier details seven internal and two external causes for decline, found in the various Buddhist traditions. The internal causes are "failings" attributed to Buddhists themselves:

1. the admission of women into the monastic community;
2. lack of respect toward various elements of the Buddhist tradition;
3. lack of diligence in meditation practice;
4. carelessness in the transmision of teachings;
5. the emergence of division within the Saṅgha;
6. the emergence of a false or "counterfeit" Dharma;
7. excessive association with secular society

(Nattier, *Once Upon*, p. 120)

The external causes are:

8. Foreign Invasions
9. Excessive state control

(Nattier, *Once Upon*, p. 121)

The *BBH* would appear to be particularly concerned with a combination of #'s 2, 4., 5, and 6. There is no expressed concern about women, meditation, association with the secular world, foreign invasions or excessive state control. However, the thrust of the *BBH* relates directly to a concern for respectful attitudes toward the teacher and teachings, proper educational standards and techniques, and a unified vision of Buddhism. The *BBH* attributes the emergence of the "counterfeits" largely to factors 2 and 4. See discussion following.

58. It has been suggested in this study that the context in which the *BBH* was composed, and/or used, was influenced by generally "positive" conditions of the Gupta period. This period, however, was not without considerable disruption and destruction from foreign invasion (see chapter 8, notes). Thus, though the *BBH* does not devote a great deal of space to the prophecy of decline, the issue "colours" it considerably and is reflected in the concern about morality, proper teaching, etc..

59. *BBH* III:vi:407

60. *BBH* I:vii: 252

61. Book I:xvii:253

62. Rhys-Davids, *Cakkavatti*, p.70

63. Rhys-Davids, *Cakkavatti*, p.69

64. Book I:xvii:253

65. For a description of the four grounds of defeat, see Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 64-65; pp. 183-200

66. Book I:x:158-9

CHAPTER FOUR: NOTES

1. This is particularly true in the the depiction of the advanced bodhisattva's powers (*prabhāva*) *BBH* I:v and the *Tathāgata* station *BBH* III:i-vi. For a study of the powers of the bodhisattva, see Luis Gomez "The Bodhisattva as Wonder-worker," in Lancaster, *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Studies*, pp. 221-261.

2. The term "novice" is a rendering of *bāla*, which can also be translated as "childish", or "immature". Novice is a term that suits the present situation as it carries the connotation of a person who is as yet undeveloped and thus a beginner on the path. Novice is not necessarily synonymous with, but does not preclude, the stage of a probationary monk which is similarly so called.

3. There have been a variety of different European language renderings of "bodhisattva" and rationales for them. See Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 4-9.

4. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 30-50 suggests a number of possible origins and influences that contributed to the bodhisattva ideal. For a useful study with references on its early in Indian development see: A. L. Basham "Evolution" in *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*. ed. Leslie Kawamura (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1981). pp. 30-49.

5. The standard *Pali Canon Jātaka* collection is found in *The Jātaka; or, Stories of the Buddha's Former Lives*, trans. and ed. E.B. Cowell UNESCO collection of representative works. (London: Re-published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac, 1969) 7 vols. in 3. For an excellent study of the themes and teachings of the Jatakas see John Garrett Jones, *Tales and Teachings of the Buddha* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979).

6. Khosla, Sarla, *Historical Development of the Buddha Legend* (Delhi: Int. Publishing House, 1989), pp. 1-3; *PTSD* "Buddha", p. 489.

7. Lamotte, *History*, pp. 699; 707. Also Joseph Kitagawa, "The Many Faces of Maitreya" in Sponberg, *Maitreya*, pp 12-14.

8. Many Mahāyāna sūtras list dozens of bodhisattvas in their initial verses of praise, though their names are more likely intended as statements of ideal qualities to attain. A large and geographically well-dispersed variety of bodhisattva forms developed by the middle Mahāyāna period. See Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, cited chapter 2, note 23; and Alfred Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographies bouddique de l'Inde* (Paris: A. Leroux, 1900-1905) 2 vols.

9. see Williams, "On Faith" in *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 215-227.

10. see discussions in Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 36-38; K.N. Upadhyaya, *Early Buddhism and the Bhagavad Gita* (Delhi: Motilal banarsidass, 1971), pp. 97-99.

11. see "The Vishnuite Danger" in Lamotte, *History*, pp. 392-398.

12. For a general appraisal of the period see Lamotte, *History*, pp. 443-465.

13. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 46-49; Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 228-256.

14. Basham "Evolution" in Kawamura, *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, pp. 29-38.

15. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp 32-33.

16. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 35-36

17. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 35

18. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 33. A.L. Basham acknowledges this possibility, but suggests that as the location of *bhakti*'s main development was in the Tamil area, the devotional "movement" was predominantly Hindu. see Basham, *Wonder*, p. 330.

19. "Cāriyapiṭaka: The Collection of Ways of Conduct" trans. Bimal Churn, in *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part 3*. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, No. 31. (London: Luzac, 1975).

20. *The Gātakamāla, or Garland of Birth Stories*, trans. J.S. Speyer. Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol.1 (London: Henry Frowde, 1985).

21. see Bhikkhu Telwatte Rahula, *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978); and Sarla Khosla, *The Lalitavistara and the Evolution of the Buddha Legend* (Delhi: Galaxy Publications, 1991.

22. Dayal discusses and compares these texts' versions of the bodhisattva *bhūmis*, with commentary on their backgrounds. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 270-291.

23. see *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, trans. Edward Conze. Serie Orientale Roma, Vol 6. (Roma: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1954) pp. ; also see Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp.204 for a brief summary of the five-staged path.

24. The challenges and difficulties of teaching *dharma* in relation to the symbolism of *Aṣṭa*, *Lotus* and other sutras is well-discussed in Michael Pye, *Skilful Means*. Hertford: Duckworth, 1978.

25. *BBH* III:iv:372

26. This system of stations (*vihāra*) is also expressed in the *BBH* in a concordant system of seven stages (*bhūmi*) in which the first two stations (*vihāra*) of lineage (*gotra*) and commitment (*adhimukti*) are each designated as separate stages (*bhūmi*), while the other eleven stations (*vihāra*) are combined into the five remaining stages (*bhūmi*).
BBH III:iv:367-370

27. *BBH* I:i:1 (Tibetan only); Dutt, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p.1 (Sanskrit).

28. *BBH* I:i:1-11

29. *BBH* I:i:3

30. *BBH* I:i:4-10

31. *BBH* I:i:8

32. *BBH* II:iv:318-319

33. *BBH* II:iv:318

34. *BBH* II:ii:318

35. The distinction between the two is that the former is a "timeless continuum' (*paramparagato 'nadikālika*), while the latter is obtained through previous practice of the roots of virtue (*purvakuśalamūla-abyasāt*). *BBH* I:i:3

36. *BBH* I:i:3

37. A summary discussion of the views of *bodhicitta* as mind or aspiration is found in: Lobsang Dargyay's "The View of Bodhicitta in Tibetan Buddhism" in Kawamura, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, pp. 95-109.

38. *BBH* II:iv:325-326

39. *BBH* I:ii:12

40. *BBH* II:iv:326-327

41. *BBH* I:ii:12

42. *BBH* I:ii:12

43. *BBH* I:ii:12

44. *BBH* I:ii:12

45. *BBH* I:ii:13

46. *BBH* I:ii:18-22

47. *BBH* I:ii:18

48. *BBH* I:ii:18

49. *BBH* I:ii:18

50. *BBH* I:ii:18

51. The idea conveyed by "virtuous conditions" implies the removal of suffering in a general sense, as well. Thus, in some cases, helping to remove poverty, strife and illness are considered to be engaging in the same "removal". Nonetheless, the import of the idea is that improved conditions are most fundamentally affected by correct action, which is established and guided by Buddhist teaching.

52. *BBH* I:ii:18

53. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 64-85

54. *BBH* I:ii:19

55. *BBH* I:ii:19

56. *BBH* I:ii:19

57. *BBH* I:ii:19

58. *BBH* I:ii:20

59. *BBH* I:ii:20

60. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Mahāyāna*, p. 92 justifiably called the *BBH* station of committed action (*adhimukticaryā*), together with lineage (*gotra*), the "pre-bhūmi" stages of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. He saw in these stages a correlation to the pre-sotapanna stage Ariya path of the pre-Mahāyāna as described in *Pali Nikaya*, *Abhidharmakośa* and other sources (pp. 98-106). Dutt, however, only treated his so-called "pre-bhūmi" notion in cursory fashion in his discussion of bodhisattva doctrine, preferring to direct his attention to the higher levels and stages of the path.

Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p.50, in discussing the *gotra* station, noted anomalies associated with *adhimukticaryā*, including the fact that the term *adhimukti* is not used in the first Book of the *BBH*, though it receives considerable use later on. For this reason Dayal thought the *BBH* was a composite of materials from different time periods, with Book I of the *BBH* being written earlier than the sections at *BBH* II:iv and Book III:iii that discuss the stations (*vihāra*) and stages (*bhūmi*) in detail.

Har Dayal did not include discussion of this so-called "pre-bhūmi" station in his work, perhaps because he felt it represented a corruption of the text. It is also possible that Dayal did not find the more realistic portrayal of the beginner bodhisattva engaged in committed action to be "heroic" enough for inclusion in a volume about the ideal as he wished to depict it.

Dayal's contention is one that is difficult to either prove or disprove and it may well be that the *adhimukticaryā* section was added later. Nonetheless, the *adhimukti* station's depiction in *BBH*:II is in all respects concordent with the notions expressed in Book I, other than the actual use of the term "*adhimukti*". For example, the idea that the initial enlightenment intention and activities are unstable and that bodhisattva practice begins with the first, potentially regressive generation of the aspiration, is found in all Books of the text. Thus it is stated in *BBH*:II, for example, that "beginning with the bodhisattva's first generation of an enlightened attitude (*prathamam cittotpadamupadaya*) those bodhisattva activites related to impure high resolve (*asuddhasayasya karma*) are called the station of committed action" *BBH*:II:iv:322. This indicates that the resolve for enlightenment is present in the *adhimukticaryā* station, but because it is "impure", i.e., not motivated totally by correct intent, it has the possibility of regressing. Furthermore, the *adhimukticaryā* station ends when high resolve (*adhyaśaya*) has finally been purified and the subsequent joy (*pramudita*) station is reached.

The *BBH* also notes in Book II that all the other stations of the bodhisattva

path are begun at the level of committed action. All attainments that are later realized commence at this station, indicating its "fundamental" place in the path. These and other indicators show that there is no disagreement or confusion between the early discussion in Book I and the later summary in Book II, even though a new term and more realistic description were introduced in the latter.

There is no doubt that even major scholars such as Dutt and Dayal have avoided giving meaningful attention to the presence of the "beginner bodhisattva" stage in the *BBH*. But this does not reflect the *BBH*'s own expressed intentions as have been noted. Even if this stage was not in the text from the beginning, certainly by the time the *BBH* as it was studied at Nalanda, this section was included, as the Chinese translation record shows (*Fa-quong encyclopedia*, p. 5215)

The entire first Book of the *BBH*, which represents the actual bulk of the contents of the text, is set forth as general instructions for "aspirant" bodhisattvas who have only just begun the practices of the path. This is also reflected in the depiction and teachings of the six perfections, which are directed in large measure to issues of daily conduct, as their "marks" noted below attest. It is the view of the present writer that the *adhimukticaryā* section of the *BBH* was not included as an afterthought, thought it may indeed have been integrated into the text at a later time. Rather, it conforms with the overall intention of the text, which is to instruct those who are taking up the Mahāyāna practice path. This is the reason that the novice receives specific attention and discussion in his/her own right and is included along with the more idealized models of more advanced, though still very human, bodhisattvas.

61. The full chapter is at *BBH* II:iv:317-358

62. *BBH* II:iv:319

63. The bodhisattva stationed in the joyful station, which is the first of the ten "established" stations of the bodhisattva, is completely lacking in these characteristics of the committed action station. On the contrary, he is endowed with all the white-oriented factors (*śuklapakṣya dharma*). He who is endowed with these is said to be a bodhisattva with pure intention (*śuddhaśaya*). *BBH* II:iv:

Though a bodhisattva in the station of committed action may have commitment to a greater of lesser degreee depending on his patience, he is not said to be of pure high resolve. This is because the "impure" commitment functions with various types of secondary afflictions. The bodhisattva at the joyful station has removed all those secondary afflictions and his pure commitment functions without them.

64. *BBH* II:iv:355

65. *BBH* II:iv:322

66. *BBH* II:iv:322

67. *BBH* II:iv:322

68. *BBH* II:iv:322

69. *BBH* II:iv:322

70. *BBH* II:iv:322

71. *BBH* II:iv:323

72. *BBH* II:iv:322

73. *BBH* II:iv:323

74. *BBH* II:iv:323

75. *BBH* II:iv:323

76. *BBH* II:iv:323

77. *BBH* II:iv:323

78. *BBH* II:iv:323

79. *BBH* II:iv:323

80. *BBH* II:iv:324

81. *BBH* II:iv:234

82. *BBH* II:iv:324

83. *BBH* III:iv:371

84. *BBH* III:iv:374

85. *BBH* I:iv:71-74; *BBH* I:xiv:216

86. The *BBH* devotes an entire chapter to balancing one's own and other's welfare, see Book I:ii

87. *BBH* I:ix:114 - *BBH* I:xiv:216

88. *BBH* I:x:137-188

89. *BBH* I:xiii:207-211; I:xiv:212-216

90. This scheme is also used in the discussion of the the "articles of gathering" (*saṃgrahavastuni-paṭala*) at *BBH* I:xv, which follows the discussion of the perfections (*pāramitā*).

91. For renderings and interpretations of *pāramitā*, see Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 165-66

92. *BBH* III:iv:372

93. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 167-68.

94. For an extensive sūtra-based depiction, see Conze, *Large Sutra of Perfect Wisdom*, pp. 494-501.

95. *BBH* I:ix:114

96. e.g., Conze, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom*, p. 470-474.

97. *BBH* I:xiv:215

98. *BBH*:I:xiv:214

99. "giving of gifts" is a cumbersome translation of *dānadānam*, which has a range of subtler meanings, such as supporting, sharing, etc.

100. The circumstances and conditions for all forms of giving are found in the *dānapaṭalam* *BBH* I:ix

101. An example of "wise-giving" (*prajñādānam*), is deliberating over when and how to loan a religious text. *BBH* I:ix:129.

102. This includes weapons, poisons, traps and properties for hunting, etc. *BBH* I:ix:120

103. *BBH* I:ix:

104. *BBH* I:ix:

105. *BBH* I:i:4

106. *BBH* I:i:5

107. *BBH* I:i:5

108. *BBH* I:x:

109. *BBH* I:i:5

110. *BBH* I:i:6

111. The qualities of embarrassment and shame are the basis of morality generally; see Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 47-48.

112. *BBH* I:i:6

113. *BBH* I:i:6

114. *BBH* I:i:6

115. *BBH* I:i:6

116. *BBH* I:i:7

117. *BBH* I:i:7

118. Tachibana, *Ethics*, pp. 35 ff.

119. *BBH* I:i:7

120. *BBH* I:i:8

121. *BBH* I:i:8

122. *BBH* I:i:8

123. *BBH* I:i:8

124. *BBH* I:i:8

125. *BBH* I:i:8

126. *BBH* I:i:9

127. *BBH* I:i:9

128. The bodhisattva avoids situations which are conducive to becoming mentally inattentive and also uncaring with respect to the right course of action and the needs of others.

129. *BBH* I:i:10

130. The fact that it is still current is evident from Mark Tatz's study, and the writer's own experience, both based on direct contact with the bodhisattva practice in its Tibetan form. For the most recent contribution to a Western understanding of Mahāyāna morality according to this tradition see Alex Wayman, *Ethics of Tibet*, cited at chapter one, note 54. This is a translation with commentry on the Bodhisattva section of Tsonghka-pa's classic on the graded path, *Lam Rim Chenmo*, and it includes regular reference to the *BBH*.

131. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 53-59; 131-133

132. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 64-89; 183-244

133. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 59-63; 137-153

134. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 64-64; 114-115

135. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 48; 105-112

136. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 52-53; 133-137

137. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 64; 159-60

138. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 64; 161

CHAPTER FIVE: NOTES

1. Beal, *Life*, p. 112

2. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 53-97.

Descriptions of early Buddhist monastic life are based principally on Buddhist textual references, with some corroboration from archaeology and materials in the Jain and brahmanical traditions. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, provides the best survey of the monastery's development. The most thorough account of early monastic practice based the *Pali Vinaya* is M. Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life: According to the texts of the Theravāda tradition*, trans. Claude Gangier and Steven Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1990).

3. see Uma Chakravarti, *Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 55-64; also Lamotte, *History*, pp. 53-65 and G.S.P. Misra *Age of Vinaya* (Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1969), pp. 105-136.

4. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddha and Five After-Centuries* (London: Luzac 1957), pp. 109-122.

5. The levels of practice are detailed in Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification* and discussed detail in R.M.L. Geithin, *The Buddhist Path of Awakening: A Study of the Bodhi-Pakkiya Dhamma* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

6. Lamotte, *History*, pp. 165-178

7. Misra, *Age of Vinaya*, pp. 150-158

8. Lamotte, *History*, pp.178-191

9. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 rpt.) pp. 510-512; 519

10. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1968), 5 vols.

11. Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 510

12. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, p. 2

13. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, p. 7

14. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 8-9

15. Modern Western interest in the meaning of *dharma* stems from colonial contact in India, Sri Lanka and Burma and the need for colonial administrations to understand local laws and customs. The initial focus was naturally on *dharma* as civic and legal practice, but scholars also recognized that *dharma* was one of, if not the main term, used in the Hindu and Therāvadin Buddhist religious systems of the South Asian cultures. The initial translation of Sanskrit Hindu and Pali Buddhist texts in the early to mid-1800's was followed by intense scholarship which saw the Pali Buddhist Canon, for example, translated virtually in full by the second decade of the 20th century. For a survey of the impact of European culture on South Asia, see R.C. Mujumdar, *An Advanced History of India*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967). pp. 623 ff.

16. Unlike the more restrictive term *ṛta*, which *dharma* largely replaced, *dharma* developed a multivalent conceptual role in Vedic-Hindu religion and philosophy. *Dharma* did, however, come to be used for more restricted and specific categories of thought, both in philosophical discussion of universal truth and laws (*Upanishads*), and the delineation of social norms (*Dharmaśāstras* and *Dharmasūtras*). Kane, *Dharmaśāstras*, pp. 122 ff

17. The *dharma* of Hinduism, and of Buddhism as well, refers to composites of beliefs, values, rules, rites, rituals, and so forth, which are complete cultural "ways of life". One therefore readily concurs with Kane that "*Dharma* is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue." Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, p. 1.

18. Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 511

19. The most accessible summary of the range of meanings of *dhamma* (sanskrit: *dharma*) is availabie in *PTSD* pp. 335-341.

20. *Dharma* in Buddhism has a polymorphic character, being used to designate everything from an entire system of order akin to natural law, to general teachings of the Buddha, specific doctrines with those teachings, items in psychical or physical categories - much like 'properties' or elements in science - and even to ideas of the UrGrund, or primordial basis, of all existence and the "things"' in it. see "Dharma and Dharmas" in, *Buddhist Thought*, pp. 92-106.

The history of the Western academic study of *dharma* and the various ways the term has been translated is found in John Carter, *Dhamma*, pp. 3-53.

21. The basic, elemental *dharmas* of *Abhidharma* are outlined and discussed in Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"*. (Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1961 rpt.)

22. *PTSD*, p. 338

23. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, p. 92

24. Lamotte, *History*, 179. ff

25. For detailed discussion see K.R. Norman, *Pali Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1983).

26. The successful transmission of the *dharma* to China and India was reliant on the systematic codification of Buddhist materials in lists and "tables" of *Abdhidharma* with the discussions of the past masters and translators. Buston, *History*, p. 49, for example lists seven collections of *Abhidharma* that had been brought for study from India.

27. Thus Burnouf,1844; Oldenburg,1882; Rhys Davids, 1912, cited in Carter, *Dhamma*, pp. 4-5.

28. S. Tachibana, *Ethics*, p. 261.

29. Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception*, p. 57 ff.

30. Geiger, *Pali Dhamma*, cited Chapter 3, note 3

The Geigers' *Pali Dhamma* is a collation of all references to, and uses of, the word *dhamma* in the Pali literature, including the pitakas and the later commentaries. It is an important work and an indispensable aid to the concept of *dhamma*. Much of what it contains applies as a guide to all other branches of Indian Buddhism. In the introduction to their study, Wilhelm Geiger makes the following statement about the word:

"Of all the expressions that we encounter in Pali Buddhism, there is none with so many meanings as the word *dhamma*. This fact makes the greatest difficulties for us in the interpretation of texts. It is not feasible to leave it untranslated precisely because of its multi-dimensionality, for we are then forced to make explanatory comments. Also not infrequently there are places where in certain phrases in immediate proximity the word *dhamma* appears several times with quite different meanings. The possibility is also in no way excluded that the (original) writer, by the use of the word at a particular place (in the text), had a series of meanings or a

multiple meaning in mind, such that a clear translation of the intention of that place can't be achieved. Finally, in addition to this, different meanings cross over one another so imperceptibly that it is repeatedly left more or less to subjective sensibility as to which translation best appears to suit." Geiger, *Pali Dhamma*, p. 3., Mullens translation)

Despite these difficulties, and perhaps because of the bewildering array of terms being used by western scholars to translate dhamma, the Geigers produced a thorough and exhaustive study. The Geigers' analysis of the term *dhamma* was intended as a lexicogaphical work which they deemed "purely philological". However, one dimension in the study of *dhamma* generated considerable controversy and provoked lengthy debate and disagreement amongst scholars of the time. In *Pali Dhamma*, the Geigers' added further textual support to an earlier suggestion that *dhamma*,in some places in the *Pali Canon*, had the connotation of "Highest Being" ("hochstes Sein", "hochstes Wesen") and that the term appeared to be not only comparable with, but a direct surrogate (Ersatz) for, the concepts *ātman* and *Brahman*, and the deity Brahmā.

The Geigers were particularly taken by the fact that Brahmā was frequently referred to in the *Pali Canon* and they documented a number of parallels or equivalences made between Brahmā and Buddha. On a later occasion this may be worth consideration in relation to the *BBH* as well, as Brahmā is mentioned in several places, and indeed in one location it states that Brahmā is a synonym for Tathāgata. (*BBH* III:iii:378)

Similarly, John Carter, *Dhamma*, p. 177, discusses the notion of *dhamma* as the "highest" and "the best" in the Pali tradition, drawing attention to the integral relation of *dhamma* and *nirvāṇa*, and the close affinity between that which is to ultimately attained (*nirvāṇa*) and that which leads to its attainment (*dharma*).

31. While the Geigers were working on their study, the editors of the Pali Text Society were preparing the *PTS* Pali-English Dictionary, which remains one of the major dictionaries of Pali Buddhist terms. Regrettably, the Geigers' work was not submitted in time to be incorporated into the *PTSD*. Thus the *PTSD* entry on *dharma*, though one of the largest in the dictionary, is comparatively brief in comparision with the Geigers' work. The *PTSD* also notes the five major categories recorded by the Geigers, but other than in organization and presentation style does not add to the number or variety of meanings found by them.

32. Geiger, *Pali Dhamma*, p.4

33. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, p. 1973

34. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, p. 97

35. This is surveyed in detail with many interesting side-lights on Buddhist studies in Carter, *Dhamma*, pp 1-53.

36. D.T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*. New York: Schoken Books, 1963, p.221.

37. see page 343 below

38. The term *adhyātma* can be rendered several different ways. It literally means something like "primal self", but this only makes sense as a doctrinal term when applied to certain non-Buddhist positions. It seems that the text only considers Buddhist doctrine to be legitimate *adhyātmavidyā* study for the bodhisattva. Doctrines of other schools are not included as *adhyātmavidyā*, but rather described under *hetu* (logic) or are perhaps also considered outside the "formal" five sciences altogether; this is somewhat unclear. In any case, "philosophy" is used to render *adhymātmavidyā* as it is a more generally applicable term than "metaphysics" or other possible choices.

39. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 78

40. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, pp. 78-79

41. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, p. 159-161

42. *BBH* I:viii:95

43. *BBH* I:viii:96

44. *BBH* I:viii:96

45. *BBH* I:viii:96

46. *BBH* I:viii:96

47. *BBH* I:viii:96-97; *BBH* I:viii:105-06

48. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

49. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

50. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

51. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

52. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

53. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

54. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

55. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

56. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

57. *BBH* I:viii:96:105

58. *BBH* I:viii:97:106

59. *BBH* I:viii:97:106

60. *BBH* I:viii:97:106

61. *BBH* I:viii:97:106

62. The term *tīrthika* is often rendered as "heretic", which, like "apostate" and other such terms, does not work well in the Buddhist religious context. "Dissenter" is being used here in order to convey the idea that *tīrthika* views and positions are those which disagree with the Buddhist; "opponents" might be equally appropriate.

63. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 77; 229

64. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 77; 229-30

65. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 68; 235

66. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 81; 235

67. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 81; 237

68. *BBH* I:viii:104

69. *BBH* I:viii:104-10

70. *BBH* I:xvii:256

71. *BBH* I:viiii:105-6.

72. *BBH* I:viii:95.

73. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 167

74. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 167

75. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 167

76. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 169

77. I-Tsing names texts studied at Nālandā in the notes and comments to the discussion of the curiculum. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 170-179

78. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 175

79. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 175

80. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 175

81. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 177

82. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 163

83. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 163

84. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 177

85. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 177

86. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 177

87. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 178-80

88. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 180

89. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 180

90. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 157

91. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 157

92. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 157-158

93. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 158

94. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 158-159

95. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 163

96. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 163

97. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 163

98. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 165

99. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 166

100. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 100

101. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 181

102. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 181

103. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 181

104. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 184

105. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 126-140

106. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 127

107. Takakusu, *Record*, 223-224; *Aṣṭasaṃgraha*, medical text of Vagbhata, may be this text see: Shastri and Srinivasachari, *Advanced History*, p. 222-223

108. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 54

109. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 81; 326

110. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 79; 234

111. *BBH* I:ii:20

112. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 127

113. Takakusu, *Record*, p.128

114. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 128

115. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 132

116. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 132-134

117. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 133

118. Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 138-140

119. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 140

120. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 140

121. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 130

122. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 130

123. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 130

124. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 135

125. Jīvaka, a famous physician during the Buddha's time, who was a loyal lay devotee and supporter of the Sangha.

126. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 113

127. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 79

128. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 79

129. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 79

130. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 79

131. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 80

132. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 80

133. Beal, *Si Yu Ki*, p. 80

134. Beal, *Life*, pp. 153-54

135. Beal, *Life*, p. 153

136. Beal, *Life*, p. 153

137. Beal, *Life*, p. 154

138. Beal, *Life*, p. 154

139. Beal, *Life*, p. 154

140. Beal, *Life*, p. 154

141. This would appear to indicate that Hsüan-Tsang, though a monk, was quite content to spend two years learning from a layman.

142. Beal, *Si Yu Kī*, p. 80

143. Beal, *Si Yu Kī*, p.80

144. Beal, *Si Yu Kī*, p. 81

145. Beal, *Si Yu Kī*, p. 81

146. Beal, *Si Yu Kī*, p. 81

147. This section is translated with a commentary in Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, pp. 162-164.

CHAPTER SIX: NOTES

1. The three-fold training is a standard division of Buddhist practice which also accords in a general way with the eight-fold path; the two formulas are often spoken of together. For example see Bikshu Śāntarakṣita, *Survey of Buddhism*, pp. 135-186. R.M.L. Gethin, *Path of Awakening*, pp. 215 ff,. questions the tendency in Theravādin Buddhism to see the three aspects as hierarchical, with morality (*śīla*) as the foundation. He suggests that the eight-fold path, for example, sets forth a more "horizontal" relationship amongst morality, contemplation and wisdom.

2. see Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, pp. 229-294; also Gethin, *Path of Awakening*, pp. 22 ff. for a detailed discussion of the *bodhi-pakkiya dhamma*.

3. Gethin, *Path of Awakening*, p. 190 ff.

4. Ñānamoli, *The Path of Purification*; see chapter three, note 10.

5. *Milinda's Questions*, trans. I.B. Horner. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vols XXII & XXIII (London: Luzac & Company, London, 1964).

6. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 481

7. Particularly dependent origination and karma Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, pp. 592 ff.

8. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 480

9. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 480

10. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 480

11. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, pp. 34-46; 134-114

12. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 481

13. Gethin, *Path of Awakening*, pp. 249-251; Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, pp. 704-744

14. Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, pp. 808 ff.

15. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. 1, pp. ix - liv., has a substantial translator's introduction dealing with a range of issues, including the personalities of

the interlocutors and the historical context.

16. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 43

17. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 44

18. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, pp. 53-54

19. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 105

20. The Buddhist path is ultimately experiential in that intellectual understandings must give way to direct "knowing". The many Buddhist formulae and means of describing conditioned phenomena, stages of the path, and so on, are no substitute for realization of these things "as they really are". Buddhism acknowledges in a variety of ways that the unconditioned is ulimately beyond logic, ratiocination and words, and moreover, concedes that actually "seeing" levels of reality and truth is dependent on "break-through" experiences which are by and large unpredictable. For a discussion of this with respect to nirvana see Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, pp. 56-69.

21. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 558-59

22. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 59

23. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 60

24. Horner *Milinda's Questions*, p. 60

25. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 120

26. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 57

27. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 58

28. Ultimately, the path leads to "fruition attainment", e.g., supernormal powers, and "cessation"; Ñānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 819 ff.

29. For a thorough discussion and survey of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, see Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1960). For bibliographic references see Pierre Beautrix, *Bibliographie de la Litterature Prajñāpāramitā*. Publications de l'Institut Belge de Hautes Etudes Bouddhiques. Serie Bibliographies, No. 3. (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Bouddhiques, 1971).

The relationship between *prajñā* and *dhyāna* in Mahāyāna is taken up by Guy Bugault, *La Notion de Prajñā ou le Sapience selon les Perspectives du Mahāyāna* (Paris: Publications de l'Institut de Civilzation Indienne, 1968). Though Bugault notes the *BBH* with reference to Demiéville's study of *dhyāna*, the *BBH*'s *prajñā* exposition is not mentioned.

30. Edward Conze, *Aṣṭasahāsrīka Prajñāpāramitā*. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1958), p. 81

31. Conze, *Aṣṭa*, pp. 431-2

32. D.T. Suzuki, *On Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism* (New York: Harper, 1968), p. 35.

33. Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 42-45

34. Suzuki, *On Indian Mahāyāna*, pp. 44-50.

35. Conze, *Buddhist Thought*, pp. 244-249.

36. Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp. 237-38.

37. Suzuki, *On Indian Mahāyāna*, pp. 109-112.

38. Conze, *Asta*, pp. 170, 253, 272.

39. Suzuki, *On Indian Mahāyāna*, pp. 37-40

40. Suzuki, *On Indian Mahāyāna*, p. 75

41. For discussion of *upāya* in the *prajñā* literature, see Pye, *Skilful Means*, pp. 102-117.

42. *BBH* I:xv:212-216

43. *BBH* I:ix:123-131

44. Willis, *Tattvārtha Chapter*, pp.

45. Materials from the morality chapter *BBH* I:x and *dāna* chapter *BBH* I:ix

46. Demiéville, p. 114: en son essence propre
Tatz, p. 47: essence

47. Demiéville, p. 115: au complet
Tatz, p. 48: complete

48. Demiéville, p. 120: sous toutes ses faces
Tatz, p. 86: universal gateway

49. Demiéville, p. 121: de l'homme de bien
Tatz, p. 86: ethics of a holy person

50. Demiéville, p. 121: sous tous ses morphemes
Tatz, p. 86: ethics as all modes

51. Demiéville, p. 124: ayant pour objet la detresse
Tatz, p. 87: ethics as distress and wishing

52. Demiéville, p. 125: de la felicite ici et ailleurs
Tatz, p. 87: well being here and there;

53. Demiéville, p. 126: pur
Tatz, p. 88: purified

54. *BBH* I:xiv:212 line: 2-7

55. *BBH* I:xiv:212 line: 9

56. *BBH* I:xiv:212 lines: 10-12

57. *BBH* I:xiv:212 line: 13

58. *BBH* I:xiv:212 line: 15

59. *BBH* I:xiv:212 lines: 16-17

60. *BBH* I:xiv:212 lines: 18-19

61. *BBH* I:xiv:212 lines: 20-25

62. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 115-16.

63. *BBH* I:xiv:212 line:25 - *BBH* I:xiv:213 line:1

64. *BBH* I:x:140

65. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*. p. 53-59; 131-133

66. Certain aspects of this depiction repeat the novice bodhisattva's activities described in the lineage marks in Book One, chapter four.

67. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 55

68. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 56

69. Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, p. 57

70. Pye, *Skilful Means*, p. 35

71. *BBH* I:xiv:213 lines: 2-7

72. *BBH* I:xiv:213 lines: 8-14

73. *BBH* I:xiv:213 lines: 15-21

74. *BBH* I:xiv:213 lines: 21-26

75. *BBH* I:xiv:213 line: 27 - *BBH* I:xiv:214 line:4

76. *BBH* I:xiv:214 lines: 5-8

77. *BBH* I:xiv:214 lines: 9-14

78. *BBH* I:xiv:214 lines: 15-18

79. *BBH* I:xiv:214 lines: 19-23

80. *BBH* I:xiv:214 lines: 23-27

81. *BBH* I:xiv:214 line: 1 - *BBH* I:xiv:215 line: 9

82. *BBH* I:xiv:215 lines: 10-13

CHAPTER SEVEN: NOTES

1. The term "enlightenment" is the one commonly used to translate *bodhi*, though there are other possible renderings, such as "supreme knowledge" and "perfect wisdom". see *PTSD*, p. 491; *Monier Williams*, p. 734. The term is qual-ified in the Mahāyāna with other adjectives to distinguish the specific and "superior" form of enlightenment that the bodhisattvas are deemed to attain. See following discussion.

2. This is the *triyāna* position, which also asserts that the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddhas* attain their respective kinds of *bodhi* before reaching liberation (*nirvāṇa*). The *ekayāna* position, however, would assert that ultimately all "lower" conditions of *bodhi* must be transcended and *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* realized before liberation can be attained. See *triyāna* and *ekayāna* discussion in Part One, chapter three.

3. *BBH* I:vii:88

4. *BBH* I:vii:88

5. *BBH* I:vii:89

6. *BBH* III:i:359 to *BBH* III:vi:410

7. *BBH* III:i:359-361

8. He may even become a leader of "demons, warring titans, brahmins of wrong views and criminals," but in all cases the *Tathāgata* leads such beings away from wrong-doing and to Dharma *BBH* III:i:360.

9. *BBH* III:ii:362 - 366

10. The activities of the teacher and his role as a mentor are described below in the discussion of the Mahāyāna master, pp. 288-292.

11. The text refers to twelve circumstances that bring danger and injury to a bodhisattva in dealing with others; these are overcome primarily with vigour (*vīrya*) and skill (*upāya*). *BBH* III:ii:365-66

12. *BBH* III:iii:367-370

13. *BBH* III:iv:371-74

14. The brief passage which refers to these four perfections is as follows:

"The perfection of skill-in-means consists of all the skill-in-means which has twelve aspects as explained previously [in the text at *BBH* I:xvii:265]. The perfection of aspiration consists of the five aspirations explained previously [at *BBH* I:xvii:287]. The perfection of power consists of the pure practice of the ten (*Tathāgata*) powers [explained in *BBH* III:vi: 390-409]. The perfection of gnosis consists of the knowledge of the arrangement of all phenomena as they are in reality. The wisdom which enters into the cognition of the ultimate is the perfection of wisdom, and that which enters into the cognition of the conventional is perfection of gnosis- that is the difference between them.

Other synonymous terms are "immeasurable gnosis" and perfection of skill-in-means. Ambition for the excellence of higher and higher gnosis is the perfection of aspiration. The indestructibility of one's spiritual path by any demons is the perfection of power. The comprehension of all objects of cognition as they are in reality is the perfection of gnosis." *BBH* III:iv:371

15. *BBH* III:v:375-383 and III:vi:384-410

16. Robert Chalmers, "*Tathāgata*", (*JRAS*, 1898), pp. 103-115 remains the best discussion of the term "*Tathāgata*" despite its age. Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, pp 321-322 gives a brief summary of Chalmers and is more accessible.

17. There may be some connection between the *Tathāgata* as "supreme being" and earlier ideas found, for example, in the Purusasukta myth of the creation of the four *varnas*. On this see T.W. Rhys-Davids "Theory of Soul in the Upanishads", (JRAS, 1899), p.79 ff.

18. These are summarized and discussed in Chalmers, "*Tathāgata*", pp. 105-107.

19. Chalmers, "*Tathāgata*", p. 105; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 321.

20. *tatra avitathā vacanāt tathāgatah*

21. *tatra yatkimcid anena bhāṣitam lapitam udāhṛtaṃ. sarvaṃ tat tathā avitatheti tasmāt tathāgata ity ucyate.*

22. Such an interpretation rests on understanding *tatha* as "truth", and *gata* as "speaking" (possibly a corruption of *gadah* "to speak articulately"). Chalmers, "*Tathāgata*", p. 106.

23. Chalmers, "*Tathāgata*", p. 114, decides on an interpretation which is close to this also, based on the idea that the Buddha has arrived at, and speaks, the four nobles truths which are exclusively Buddhist.

24. Book III:v:375 - III:vi:400 describes the 140 buddha-factors.

25. The *Tathāgata* has collected immeasurable merit which is reflected in the physical body with the thirty-two major signs and eighty minor marks. There are "masses" of merit which directly produce these. The *BBH* specifies the ratio between major signs and minor marks as one hundred to one. One mass attains one mark, one hundred masses one sign. *BBH* I:v:380.

26. *BBH* III:v:377

27. The remaining twenty-eight factors which include the mental conditions, powers and other related faculties are produced through a combination of study, meditative activity and certainty of purpose established along the bodhisattva path. They are described as the collection of immeasurable knowledge (*jñāna*). See Part Two, chapter three above for discussion of merit and knowledge.

28. *BBH* III:v:383

29. *BBH* III:v:380-81

30. *BBH* III:v:382

31. See discussion of *vihāra* and novice stage, chapter four above.

32. *BBH* III:v:382

33. The *Tathāgata* signs are "endowed with form" and thus easy for all living beings to see and comprehend. The *BBH* states that only the thirty-two signs and the eighty minor marks are the established signs of the great person *Tathāgata*. This would suggest that other physical signs are not to be considered as additional, or alternative indications of progress toward *Tathāgata*hood. *BBH* III:v:382

34. *BBH* III:v:377

35. The *BBH* itemizes, but does not explain every minor sign in detail, though it relates them to the general kinds of meritorious action involved in the production of the major signs. For an rendition of the traditional causes of each of the minor signs see *APS*, p. 661-664 (see below, note 38). Refer also to Appendix C

for a comparative table of the three different versions of the thirty-two major signs.

36. *BBH* III:v:375-76

37. "Lakkhana Suttanta" in T.W. Rhys-Davids (ed.) *Dialogues of the Buddha (Dīghanikaya)*, Pali Text Society, London, 1971 ed. pp. 132-166.

38. Appendix II in Edward Conze (ed. & trans.) *The Large Sutra of Perfect Wisdom with the Divisions of the Abhisamayālaṇkāra*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1975. pp. 657-665.

39. The comparative study of the many versions of the *Tathāgata*'s signs in Buddhist tradition would be an interesting study that could lead to insights about the views and values of the groups that espoused particular variations. Perhaps it could also lead to other attempts at an assessment of the social circumstances relating to the production of different versions, as has been ventured here.

40. *LS*, p.139

41. *LS*, p. 165

42. *APS*, pp. 659-660

43. *APS*, p. 660

44. *LS*, p. 149

45. *APS*, p. 660

46. *BBH* III:v:378

47. *BBH* III:v:378

48. *BBH*, p. 379

49. *LS*, p. 146

50. All quotes in regarding teaching of *dharma* are found in the *BBH* version of signs, *BBH*:III:v:378-80

51. *LS*, p.149; *APS*, p. 660

52. *BBH* III:v:378

53. There is some likelihood that the relationship of crafts to the qualities of the legs reflects a connection between the Buddhist sign and that of the Vedic *Mahāpuruṣa*, in which the legs symbolize the *śūdras*, the labourers and craft-workers in traditional caste system. The emphasis on the characteristics of the head may, as well, have some relationship to that fact that the head is the body part associated with the prowess of the *brahmin*. These relationships have not been explored in this study.

54. *APS*, p. 660

55. *BBH* III:v:378-380

56. *BBH* III:v:379

57. *BBH* III:v:378-80

58. *BBH* I:xvii:267-271. This is an aspect of the degenerate age motif discussed in chapter three. One of the characteristic ways of drawing individuals into following the *saddharma* is to offer to teach them, provided that they commit themselves to proper morality, beginning with respecting parents, teachers and recluses. *BBH* I:xvii:267 ff

59. *śīla* chapter *BBH* I:x:137-188; esp.140;182 ; see also Tatz, *Morality Chapter*, pp. 50;81;237.

60. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 121

61. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 116

62. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 120

63. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 120

64. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 116

65. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 117

66. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 120

67. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 117

68. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 120

69. Takakusu, *Record*, p. 120

70. *BBH* I:vi:83

71. *BBH* I:vi:82

72. *BBH* I:vi:83

73. *BBH* I:viii:103

74. *BBH* I:vi:83

75. *BBH* I:vi:84

76. *BBH* I:vi:84

77. *BBH* II:i:305

78. *BBH* I:xviii:255 ff.

79. *BBH* I:xv:217

80. *BBH* I:xv:217

81. *BBH* I:xv:217-28

82. *BBH* I:xv:218-220

83. *BBH* I:xv:221 ff.

84. *BBH* I::viii:106. This is an old saying also used in the *Pali Canon* by the Buddha to describe himself.

85. *BBH* II:ii:308-9

86. *BBH* III:vi:402

87. *BBH* III:vi:402

88. *BBH* III:vi:403

89. The text uses the term "*bhūta*" (true) bodhisattva to refer to the bodhisattva who has attained to the first *bhūmi* and is therefore no longer a "novice", or *bāla* bodhisattva. *BBH* II:vi: 326.

90. *BBH* II:i:303

91. *BBH* II:i:303

92. *BBH* II:i:303

93. *BBH* II:i:303

94. *BBH* II:i:303

95. *BBH* II:i:303

96. *BBH* I:viii:106

97. *BBH* I:viii:106

98. *BBH* I:viii:106

99. *BBH* I:viii:106

100. *BBH* I:viii:106

101. *BBH* I:xvii:265

102. *BBH* I:xvii:265

103. *BBH* I:xvii:265

104. *BBH* I:xvii:265

105. The distinction between "realizing" and merely knowing formally has been taken up in previous chapter.

106. *BBH* II:ii:362

107. *BBH* III:ii:362

108. *BBH* III:ii:362

109. *BBH* III:ii:363

110. *BBH* III:ii:362

111. *BBH* III:ii:363

112. *BBH* III:ii:363

113. *BBH* III:ii:363

114. *BBH* III:ii:364

115. *BBH* III:ii:364

116. *BBH* III:ii:364

117. *BBH* III:ii:364

118. *BBH* I:iii:29

119. *BBH* I:iv:56

120. *BBH* I:v:70

121. *BBH* I:xv:218

122. *BBH* I:xv:22

123. *BBH* I:xv:22

124. *BBH* I:xvii:251

125. The eight-fold morality refers to keeping the five moral precepts (not killing, stealing, lying, engaging in sexual intercourse) and not eating after noon, sleeping on raised beds and attending entertainment performances. These are the traditional *upasatha* day observances of the lay person or novice.

126. *BBH* II:xvii:262

127. *BBH* I:xvii:275

128. *BBH* II:iv:275

129. *BBH* II:iv:345.

130. *BBH* III:vi:386.

131. *BBH* III:vi:386

132. The traditional association between the Buddha's enlightenment and the request by Brahma to turn the Wheel of Dharma seems to be conflated in this passage. There are also references in the same chapter to "Brahmā" and "Peaceful"

being synonyms for the *Tathāgata*. *BBH* III:vi:385. There are perhaps important implications in this close connection in terms of the general religious climate in which the *BBH* was composed and used. The writer has not taken up the issue, though it warrants future consideration.

133. *BBH* III:vi:386

134. *BBH* III:vi:394

135. *BBH* III:vi:397.

136. *BBH* III:vi:407

CHAPTER EIGHT: NOTES

1. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 319-327; pp. 349-353.

L.M. Joshi, *Studies in The Buddhistic Culture Of India (During the 7th and 8th centuries, A.D.)*, (Delhi; Motilal Banarsidass, 1977) pp. 304-308, adds to this his belief that the monks' worldly studies resulted in a rapid decline into decadence and immorality.

2. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, p. 322-323, cites Theravādin scriptures and their emphasis on *sūtra* memorization and accomplishment in "canonical lore" as an example of such a traditional approach to learning.

3. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, p. 321, states that the "study for faith" in the earlier monastic tradition was taken up to produce "the perfect monk", whereas the studies at Nālandā were also taken up by some who had come there "just for the sake of learning". He sees this worldly influence as the contributing factor in a general process of deterioration in which Mahāyāna is specifically implicated. Dutt suggests that the "speculative thinking", "pantheon of deities" and ritual practices of Mahāyāna produced a form of Buddhism that was too alike Brahminism, thereby eroding Buddhism's distinguishing characteristics.

Joshi, *Studies in Buddhistic Culture*, pp. 308-311, adds to these factors the influence of tantrism, which he sees as a pernicious and debilitating force that continued an erosion of Buddhism already begun by the growth of Mahāyāna and Buddhist sectarianism.

4. In addition to the Buddhist doctrinal works of Asaṅga and others referred to in this study, Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* and Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgraha-pañjikā* commentary on it, are examples of analysis of non-Buddhist doctrines produced by Buddhist monastic scholars in which the "truths" (*tattva*) of other traditions are subjected to rigorous critical investigation. See *The Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntarakṣita, with the Commentary of Kamalaśīla*, trans. Ganganath Jha. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Nos 80, 83. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1937-39), 2 vols.

5. Joshi, *Studies in Buddhist Culture*, pp. 304-306, is vehement on this point, stating that the various worldly activities of the monastery (engaging in debate, accepting and tending lands, and so forth) caused the monks to become greedy, covetous and avaricious. Moreover he concludes that individuals joined the monasteries to be provided for materially, while avoiding work.

6. There is concensus amongst scholars that Indian Buddhism's influence was great during the Aśokan period (third century, B.C.E.). According to Ling, this was Buddhism's most prominent period and decline set in thereafter. This view is not without problems, however, as it shows a bias towards seeing Buddhism's "finest hour" occurring when it had powerful state support and therefore also presumably had a widespread following. It is suggested that with the loss of a unifying state authority, Buddhism also split into sectarian groups, thereby falling into decline. For this and other issues relating to the fate of Indian Buddhism see Trevor Ling, *The Buddha: Buddhist Civilization in India and Ceylon*. (London: Temple Smith, 1973) Part III ch. 12, "The Fate of Buddhism in India".

For a countervailing opinion, which sees the Asokan period as instrumental in establishing Buddhism across a wide geographical area, but the following four centuries as the time when Buddhist artistic and religious expression flourished most profoundly, see Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, pp. 263-65.

7. The demise of Indian Buddhism in the thirteenth century is determined principally by the fact that Tibetan and Kashmiri Buddhist visitors record the complete destruction of all monasteries and *mahāvihāras*, except Nālandā, by 1235. Vestiges of Buddhism did, in fact, survive amongst Indian tribal peoples in areas bordering Tibet and Burma into modern times, but these forms were affected dramatically by Hinduism and folk religious elements.

Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 347-348, notes that Nālandā lasted for another four decades after Dharmasvamin's visit in 1235. Thus the demise of Nālandā is the fact equated with the demise of Buddhism in India.

8. The period of early invasion by the Sytho-Parthians (first through third centuries C.E.) is discussed in detail by Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 443-494. The attacks of the Hun tribes in the Gupta period are chronicaled in Khosla, *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 19-26. The traditional Tibetan accounts and Arabic records outlining the course of Muslim and other invasions from the seventh through thirteenth centuries are summarized by Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, pp. 502-513. The assimilation of Buddhism by Hinduism, both religiously (e.g., as an *avatār* of Vishnu) and philosophically, for example in the writings of such Brahminical scholars as the so-called "crypto-Buddhist" Shankara, is a process which occurred concurrently with these many foreign invasions. For a survey and discussion of all factors involved in the decline and assimilation of Buddhism, see D.C. Ahir, *How and Why Buddhism Declined*. (Delhi: Mahabodhi Society, 1978).

9. One of the most notable of these non-religious cultural transmissions occurred during the century of the Chinese travellers' visit tc India. King Srong-tsen-gampo of Tibet sent his minister Thonmi Sambota to India along with a small delegation, where they resided for several years in Mahāyāna Buddhist institutions. They returned to Tibet having acquired not only the basis for the first stage of Tibetan Buddhism, but of equal significance, they had constructed the foundations for literary Tibetan language using Sanskrit grammar and Gupta script. For a discussion of these and other connections between Indian Buddhist culture and Tibet, see David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, (Boston: Shambala, 1987) 2 vols; Vol 2, ch. V: "Conversion of Tibet "; Part 1: Political and Social Factors, pp. 381-425.

APPENDIX A

DHARMA COMPOUNDS IN THE *BBH*

The following list contains compound usages of *dharma* in the BBH, including (A) Instances of *dharma* in the second position; (B). Instances of *dharma* in the first position. Page reference accords with Wogihara; *x* = multiple occurence.

A. *Dharma:*

akṣāṃti dharma: 198
āmṭarāyika dharma: 402
ānudhārmyā: 61
ānulomika dharma: 84
anutpattika dharma: 33, 348, 350, 351
anutpattika dharmakṣānti: 352, 356
anāpattir dharma: 163, 162
aparinirvāṇa dharmaka: 243, 401
arthopasaṃjita dharma: 212x
asaṃkliṣṭa dharma: 105
asaṃmoṣa dharmataya: 404x, 408, 409
ascaryabhuta dharma: 18, -ta: 58, 229, 285x, 286x
ātmaka dharma: 339
aveṇikabuddha dharma: 24, 88, 230
avikṣipta dharma: 105
aviparīta dharma: 133
bodhipakṣa dharma: 1, 2, 11, 13, 86x, 101x, 259x, 260, 310 20, 324, 333, 337, 339, 340, 341, 346, 347, 348, 350, 371, 405
buddha dharma: 18, 22x, 24, 32x, 40x, 42, 56x, 87, 89x, 174 188x, 227, 230, 261x, 313x, 318x, 323, 326, 37, 329, 335, 337x, 347, 348, 367, 375, 382, 405x, 408x, 409
Buddha Dharma Saṇgha: 160x, 263x (Tathāgata Dharma Saṇgha): 322, 331
citta-caitasikā dharma: 99
deya dharma: 4, 123, 124x, 125x, 126x, 128, 129x, 131, 132, 134x, 135, 307x, 365
dhandaṃ dharma: 175,176
dṛṣṭa dharma: 25, 27, 28, 35x, 36, 55x, 56, 67, 72, 74, 80,85x,100, 102, 127, 130, 159x, 198x, 221x, 227, 240, 245x, 255, 304x, 309, 328, 329, 373, 392, 400, 401

B. *Dharma*

Note: *dharma* on its own, both in single and plural forms occurs frequently; these instances have not been included.

APPENDIX B

I. SUMMARY OF BODHISATTVA PRĀTIMOKṢA RULES

The following is a summary of the bodhisattva rules of conduct according to the Morality Chapter (*śīla paṭalam*) of the *BBH* at *BBH* I:x. The are two categories: (A.) Grounds for Defeat and: (B.) Misdemeanours

A. Four Grounds for Defeat of the Bodhisattva Moral Vow

1. Praising oneself and deprecating others with a craving for gain and respect.

2. Though the means be in one's possession, due to excessive material attachment, hard-heartedly refusing to give material assistance to those who need it; and though able to do so refusing to teach *dharma* to deserving persons because of stinginess.

3. Becoming so overpowered by anger that it leads to hurting others with hands, or stones or sticks, and being so consumed by anger that even apologies are not accepted.

4. Repudiating the authentic bodhisattva teachings, while espousing or creating semblances of doctrine, and preaching these false doctrines as though they were true.

B. Forty-five Misdemeanours to be Confessed and Rectified

1. Passing a day and a night without doing any form of reverence, no matter how small, to the Buddha, *dharma* and Saṇgha.

2. Allowing dissatisfaction, discontent and attachment to receiving gain and respect to occur unchecked.

3. Not showing due respect to a fellow religious out of pride, enmity and resentment.

4. Not answering questions that one is capable of answering.

5. Not accepting an invitation to a home or monastery, or not accepting food, drink, etc., when properly offered, out of thoughts of pride, enmity or resentment.

6. Refusing to accept offering of superior value (gold, silver, jewels, etc.) out of pride, enmity or resentment.

7. Failing to teach the *dharma* to those who seek it, out of thoughts of enmity, resentment or envy.

8. Neglecting or dismissing violent and immoral persons due to enmity or resentment.

9. Refusing to teach an aspect of *dharma* one is capable of teaching, but which is not of personal interest.

10. Not committing one of the seven non-virtuous actions if circumstances require it.

11. Engaging in wrong means of livelihood (such as flattery, innuendo, etc.) and not feeling constrained to stop.

12. Allowing the mind to be caught up in restlessness, excitement and distraction and indulging in these practices.

13. Holding or espousing the view that the bodhisattva is not concerned with attaining *nirvāṇa*.

14. Failing to guard against or dispel rumours, insults or bad reports about ones conduct.

15. Failing to use harsh or severe means to benefit others when one sees that these means would be effective.

16. Resorting to abuse when abused by others, or returning anger for anger, or insult for insult.

17. Not making a suitable apology for deeds which have offended others, thus neglecting them, out of pride and enmity.

18. Not heeding an apology made by others who have offended, out of enmity and malicious intention.

19. Harbouring thoughts of anger towards others and allowing these thoughts to recur and increase.

20. Gathering a following with thoughts of self-interest, out of a yearning to be served and respected.

21. Indulging in laziness and indolence, such as sleeping inordinately or lying around.

22. Spending time indulging in socializing with a mind caught up in the pleasure of company.

23. Not going to receive instruction which is beneficial to mental equilibrium, out of enmity and pride.

24. Allowing the hindrance of sense-desire to occur and not attempting to dispel it.

25. Indulging in and producing attachment to the pleasurable states of meditative trance.

26. Holding or espousing the view that a bodhisattva should not be associated with, or train in the *śrāvaka* practices.

27. Failing to apply oneself in the bodhisattva practices while taking up the practices of the *śrāvakas*.

28. Being in possession of the Buddha's (various) doctrines, but choosing to apply oneself to dissenters' (*tīrthika*) doctrines.

29. Becoming proficient in *tīrthika* doctrines and taking inordinate pleasure and gratification in them.

30. Denying or disparaging the bodhisattva teachings from ones personal conviction or through following others.

31. Publicly praising oneself and deprecating others out of thoughts of self-interest and resentment.

32. Not attending teachings, discourses or religious discussions out of thoughts of enmity and resentment.

33. Being discourteous, disrespectful, sarcastic, etc. toward or about someone who is teaching *dharma*.

34. Not ministering to the material needs of others, though able, out of thoughts of enmity and resentment.

35. Not ministering to the physical needs of the sick or attending to them, out of thoughts of enmity and resentment.

36. Not removing other forms of suffering from those who are enduring them, though able, due to enmity and resentment.

37. Not pointing out to others errors which are contributing to their present and future distress, due to thoughts of enmity and resentment.

38. Not feeling and expressing gratitude to those who have helped one or returning their help if able, due to enmity.

39. Not helping to relieve distress caused by property loss or family troubles, though able, out of enmity.

40. Not providing requisites (food, drink, etc.) to those who request properly, due to enmity and resentment.

41. Not advising and providing necessities for a following one has gathered, due to enmity.

42. Failing to comply with the requests of others if able, out of thoughts of enmity.

43. Not praising the genuine qualities of others due to thoughts of enmity.

44. Not meting out appropriate punishment to those who deserve rebuke, corporal punishment or banishment.

45. Not applying miraculous powers to influence and direct others, though one is capable of so doing.

II. BODHISATTVABHŪMI RULE ANALYSIS

The foregoing rules can be divided into three major areas of concern:

A. Rules governing general personal and social relations

Major rules: 1; 3
Minor rules: 4; 8; 10; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 22; 31; 36; 37; 38; 42; 43; 44
Number of rules involved: 19

B. Rules concerning control of inner states and attitudes

Minor rules: 2; 12; 19; 21; 24; 25
Number of rules involved: 6

C. Rules with predominantly religious considerations

(1) The bodhisattva as Teacher/Instructor

Major rules: 2; 4
Minor rules: 7; 9; 13; 20; 26; 41; 45
Number of rules involved: 9

(2) The bodhisattva as Student

Minor rules: 23; 27; 28; 29; 30; 32
Number of rules involved: 6

(3) The bodhisattva as Mentor

Major rule: 2
Minor rule: 34; 35; 40; 41; 42
Number of rules involved: 6

(4) The bodhisattva as Co-religionist

Minor rules: 1; 3; 5; 6; 33
Number of rules involved: 5

APPENDIX C

I. THIRTY-TWO SIGNS OF THE TATHĀGATA

The following is a comparative summary of the signs of the *Tathāgata* as discussed in chapter seven. The basic list is given according to the *BBH*, with correspondences in the *Lakkanasuttānta* (*LS*) and *Aṣṭaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (*APS*).

SIGN ORDER ACCORDING TO *BBH*	*LS*	*APS*
	Equivalents	
1. feet with level tread	1	2
2. wheels on feet	2	1
3. long fingers and toes	4	6
4. projecting heels	3	7
5. soft hands and feet	5	4
6. webs on hands and feet	6	3
7. rounded ankles (high instep)	7	9
8. legs like an antelope/deer	8	11
9. straight body	15	8
10. penis covered by a sheath	10	13
11. symmetrical body/like a banyan	19	22
12. single hairs pointing up	13	10
13. dark hair, curling to right	14	16
14. golden skin	11	14
15. delicate, smooth skin	12	15
16. body has seven convex surfaces	16	5
17. front of body like a lion's	17	18
18. chest is rounded (+ shoulders)	20	19
19. no furrow between shoulders	18	20
20. arms reach to the knees	9	12
21. forty teeth	23	30
22. even teeth	24	28
23. continuous teeth	25	29
24. lustrous teeth	26	27
25. jaws like a lion	22	26
26. long tongue	27	24
27. taste is acute	21	21
28. voice like a bird (+ Brahma's)	28	25
29. intensely blue eyes	29	31
30. eyelashes like a cow's	30	32
31. head is like a royal turban	32	23
32. hairy mole between eyebrows	31	17

BBH anomalie: combines 21 + 22

II. COMPARATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SIGNS

The following is a comparative summary of the principal causes of the signs according to the three versions.

BBH : Sign Order	*LS*	*APS*
	Equivalent	

1. feet with level tread — 1 — 2

BBH: moral discipline, austerity and renunciation
LS: dispensing gifts, virtuous deeds, observing festivals
APS: firm sense of obligation to vows

2. wheels — 2 — 1

BBH: respecting parents and protecting beings from harm
LS: protecting beings, dispelling dread, giving supplies
APS: following teachers, listening to *dharma*, building monasteries

3. long fingers and toes — 4 — 6

BBH: saluting teachers; abandoning harm and non-giving
LS: abstaining from taking life and being merciful
APS: freeing prisoners and abstaining from taking life

4. projecting heels — 3 — 7

BBH: not spoiling satisfying possessions; destroying pride
LS: abstaining from taking life and being merciful
APS: freeing prisoners and abstaining from taking life

5. soft hands and feet — 5 — 4

BBH: rubbing teacher's feet, bathing them, giving them clothes
LS: practising four means of gathering
APS: giving fine food and drink

6. webbed hands and feet — 6 — 3

BBH: saluting teachers; abandoning harm and non-giving
LS: practising four means of gathering
APS: cultivating four means of conversion

7. rounded ankles (high instep) — 7 — 9

BBH: continually increasing virtuous factors
LS: speaking to multitude on *dharma*, explaining teaching
APS: cultivating wholesome *dharmas* and upholding them

8. legs like an antelope — 8 — 11

BBH: taking, studying and teaching *dharma* properly
LS: learning five sciences
APS: learning and teaching the five sciences

9. straight body — 15 — 8

BBH: teaching *dharma* in sequence; dispensing medicine
LS: abstaining from taking life and being gentle
APS: freeing prisoners and abstaining from taking life

10. penis covered by a sheath — 10 — 13

BBH: bringing in rejected people and giving them clothing
LS: reuniting friends, relatives and families, rejoicing
APS: not causing schisms, encouraging chastity, guarded mantras

11. symmetrical body/banyan tree waist — 19 — 22

BBH: giving properly; dispensing medicine
LS: contemplating the welfare of people and judging correctly
APS: encouraging others to contruct groves, parks and doing so oneself

12. single hairs like down — 13 — 10

BBH: studious, looking after teacher, clarifying mind and sweeping grounds
LS: putting away lies, truth speaker, trustworthy, consistent
APS: cultivating wholesome *dharmas* and continuing in them

13. dark hair, curling to right — 14 — 16

BBH: continually increasing virtuous factors
LS: speaking to multitude on *dharma*, explaining teaching
APS: avoiding society and serving spiritual teachers

14. complexion like gold — 11 — 14

BBH: giving food, drink, vehicles, clothes, etc
LS: giving fine clothes and coverlets
APS: giving fine clothes and buildings

15. delicate skin — 12 — 15

BBH: studious, looking after teacher, clarifying mind and sweeping grounds
LS: seeking instruction from recluses and brahmins
APS: giving fine clothes and buildings

16. body has seven convex surfaces 16 5

BBH: giving ointment and extensive food and drink
LS: giving fine and tasty food
APS: giving fine food and drink

17. front of body like a lion's 17 18

BBH: causing religious deeds, not proud nor cruel, ahimsa, benefit
LS: considering people's material comfort, morality and relations
APS: (shoulders) speech is not scurrilous, deprecatory

18. chest is rounded 20 19

BBH: causing religious deeds, not proud nor cruel, ahimsa, benefit
LS: considering people's material comfort, morality and relations
APS: (shoulders) speech is not scurrilous, deprecatory

19. no furrow between shoulders 18 20

BBH: causing religious deeds, not proud nor cruel, ahimsa, benefit
LS: considering people's material comfort, morality and relations
APS: giving medicines and treatment to the sick

20. arms reach to the knees 9 12

BBH: saluting teachers; abandoning harm
LS: contemplating the welfare of people and judging them correctly
APS: (stong arms and legs) giving wealth and never refusing

21. forty teeth 23 30

BBH: abandoning divisive speech and gossip
LS: no abuse, no quarrel no gossip, peace maker, uniter
APS: habitually speaking the truth and never slandering

22. even teeth 24 28

BBH: is included with 23
LS: no wrong livelihood, no cheating, robbery or murder
APS: feeling no pride; livelihood is pure

23. continuous teeth 25 29

BBH: abandoning quarrels
LS: no abuse, no quarrel no gossip, peace maker, uniter
APS: habitually speaking the truth and never slandering

24. lustrous teeth 26 27

BBH: cultivating benevolence toward the desire realms
LS: no wrong livelihood, no cheating, robbery or murder
APS: feeling no pride; livelihood is pure

25. jaws like a lion 22 26

BBH: distributing wealth (*dāna*)
LS: speaking timely, truthfully, meaningful, clear teaching
APS: refraining from idle talk

26. long and thin tongue 27 24

BBH: bestowing taste of teaching, quarding precepts, leading others to *dharma*
LS: blameless speach, pleasant speech, eloguent
APS: speech is soft, kind and sweet

27. taste is acute 21 21

BBH: protecting, consoling and dispensing medicine
LS: cultivating the habit of ahimsa
APS: giving medicines and treatment to the sick

28. voice like bird/ Brahma drum 28 25

BBH: (Brahma voice) truthful/timely/kindly speech and speaking *dharma*
LS: blameless speech, pleasant, eloquent
APS: speech is soft and kind

29. eyes intensely blue 29 31

BBH: sympathising and having compassion for the world
LS: looking candidly with upright mind
APS: mature mind, free from klesas, never rejecting others

30. eyelashes like a cow's 30 32

BBH: sympathising and having compassion for the world
LS: looking compassionately with affectionate eyes
APS: mature mind, free from klesas, never rejecting others

31. hairy mole between eyebrows 31 17

BBH: praising the virtues of other people
LS: putting away lies, truth speaker, trustworthy, consistent
APS: avoiding society and serving spiritual teachers

32. head is like a royal turban 32 23

BBH: bestowing taste of teaching, guarding precepts, leading others to *dharma*
LS: foremost in virtuous deeds; fulfilling social duties
APS: encouraging others to contruct groves, parks and doing so oneself

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

Dutt, Nalinkasha, ed. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Sanskrit text with introduction and synopsis. Tibetan-Sanskrit Works Series. Patna: Jayaswal, 1966.

Wogihara, Unrai, ed. *Bodhisattvabhūmi: A Statement of the Whole Course of the Bodhisattva*. Sanskrit text with introduction. (original 1936). Sankibo Buddhist Book Store: Tokyo, 1971 prt.

II. (a) PRIMARY SOURCES IN TRANSLATION

Bagchi, P.C., trans., *She Kia Fang Che*. Santiniketan: Santiniketan Press, 1959.

Beal, Samuel, trans., *The Life of Hiuen Tsang by the Shaman Hwui Li*. Originally London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1911. Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1973.

--------. *Si Yu Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Originally London: Trubner: 1881., 2 vols. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp. 1968.

Bendall, Cecil and Louis La Vallee Poussin, trans., "Bodhisattva-Bhūmi: A Textbook of the Yogācāra" Chapters 1-8. *Le Museon* (1905), 7 (1906), 12 (1911)

Bendall, Cecil and W.H.D. Rouse, trans., *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971 rpt.

Chimpa, Lama and A. Chattopadyaya, trans., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970.

Churn, Bimal., trans.,"Cariyapiṭaka: The Collection of Ways of Conduct" in *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part 3*. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, No. 31. London: Luzac, 1975.

Clarke, Robert, et. al, trans., *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Unpublished draft manuscript. Dharmasala, 1970-78.

Conze, Edward, trans., *Astasāhasrīka Prajñāpāramitā*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1958.

-------. ed. & trans., *The Large Sutra of Perfect Wisdom with the Divisions of the Abhisamayālankāra*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Cowell, E.B., ed. & trans., *The Jātaka; or Stories of the Buddha's Former Lives*. UNESCO collection of representative works. London: Re-published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac, 1969. 7 vols. in 3.

Demieville, Paul, trans., "Le Chapitre de la Bodhisattvabhūmi sur la Perfection du Dhyāna," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*. Vol. XXI (1957) pp. 109-128.

Hardy, E., ed., *The Anguttara-Nikaya: Part III Pancka-Nipata and Chakka-Nipata*. London: Pali Text Society, 1958.

Horner, I.B., trans., *Milinda's Questions* in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*. Vols XXII & XXIII. London: Luzac & Company, London, 1964.

Lamotte, Etienne, trans., *The Teachings of Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, trans., Sarah Boin. London: Routledge, Kegan Paul for the Pali Text Society, 1976.

Legge, James, trans., *Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. Oxford: Oxford U Press, 1886.

Nanamoli, Bhikkhu, trans. *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*. Colombo: A Semage, 1964.

Obermiller, E., trans., *History of Buddhism by Buston*. Heidelberg: Harrassowitz, 1931.

Rhys-Davids, T.W., trans. and ed., *Cakkavattisihanada-suttanta* in *Dialogues of the Buddha (Digha-nikaya)*. London: Pali Text Society, 1971.

--------. trans., *Lakkhana Suttanta* in *Dialogues of the Buddha (Dighanikaya)*. London: Pali Text Society, 1971.

Shelburne, Richard, trans., *A Lamp for the Path and the Commentary of Atiśa*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1983.

Speyer, J.S., trans., *The Gātakamala, or Garland of Birth Stories*. Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol.1. London: Henry Frowde, 1985.

Takakusu, Junjiro, trans., "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569)". *T'oung Pao*, Serie. II, 5, 269-296.

--------. trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malaya Archipelego*. Originally Oxford: Clarendon, 1896. Cleveland: University of Cincinatti photo-reproduction. (n.d.)

Matz, Mark, trans., *Asaṅga's Chapter on Morality with the Commentary of Tsong-kha-pa*. Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1986.

Watters, Thomas, trans., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. Originally London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904-1905. Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1961 rpt.

Wayman, Alex, trans., *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

--------., trans., *Ethics of Tibet: The Bodhisattva Section of Tsong-kha-pa's Lam Rim Chen Mo*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1991.

Willis, Janice, trans., *On Knowing Reality: The Tattvārtha Chapter of Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Yan, H.S. et al., trans. *The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*. Seoul: Asian Humanities Press 1983.

II. (b) Asaṅga's Works in Translation

Abhidarmasamuccaya. as: *La Compendium de la Super-Doctrine Philosophie, Abhidharmasamuccaya d'Asanga*, trans. Walpola Rahula. Paris: Ecole Extreme Orient, 1971.

Abhisamayālamkāra, trans. Edward Conze, Serie Orientale Roma, Vol 6.. Roma: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1954.

Madhyāntavibhānga. as: *Madhyānta-Vibhanga: Discourse on Discrimination between Middle and Extremes Ascribed to Bodhisattva Maitreya*, trans. Fedor Stcherbatsky. Soviet Indological Series, No. 5. Bibliotheca Buddhica Reprint, Vol 30. Leningrad: Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1936.

Mahāyānasamgraha. as: *La somme du grand vehicule d'Asanga Mahāyānasamgraha*, trans. Etienne Lamotte Louvain: Institute Orientaliste, 1973.

Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra. as: *Asaṅga: MahāyānaSūtralamkāra. Expose de la Doctrine du Grand Vehiclue selon te Systeme Yogācāra*, trans. Sylvain Levi. Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Haute Etudes. Paris: H. Champion, 1907-1911 2 vols.

Triśatikayah Prajñāpāramitāyah Karīka Saptatih, trans. Giuseppe Tucci. *Minor Buddhist Texts Part 1*. (Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma: 1956) pp. 3-128.

III. SECONDARY SOURCES

Ahir, D.C. *How and Why Buddhism Declined*. Delhi: Mahabodhi Society, 1978.

Basham, A.L. *The Wonder that was India*. London: Sidwick and Jackson, 1954.

Beautrix, Pierre. *Bibliographie de la Litterature Prajñāpāramitā*. Publications de l'Institut Belge de Hautes Etudes Bouddhiques. Serie Bibliographies, No. 3. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Bouddhiques, 1971.

Bugault, Guy. *La Notion de Prajñā ou le Sapience selon les Perspective du Mahayana*. Paris: Publications de l'Institut de Civilzation Indienne, 1968.

Carter, John. *Dhamma: Western Academic and Sinhalese Buddhist Interpretations*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1978.

Chakravarti, Uma. *Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Conze, Edward. *Buddhist Thought in India*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970 rpt.

--------. *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* The Hague: Mouton, 1960.

Dayal, Har *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932.

Dutt, Nalinaksha *Early Monastic Buddhism*. Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1960.

--------. *Mahāyāna Buddhism*. New Delhi: KLM Publishers, 1973.

Dutt, Sukumar. *Buddha and Five After-Centuries*. London: Luzac, 1957.

--------. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962.

Foucher, Alfred. *Etude sur l'iconographies bouddique del'Inde*. Paris: A. Leroux, 1900-1905. 2 vols.

Geithin, R.M.L. *The Buddhist Path of Awakening: A Study ofthe Bodhi-Pakkiya Dhamma*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

Getty, Alice. *Gods of Northern Buddhism*. Revised edition. Rutland Vt.: C.E. Tuttle, 1962.

Griffiths, Paul. *On Being Mindless: Buddhist Meditation and the Mind-Body Problem*. La Salle: Open Court, 1986.

Harris, Ian Charles. *The Continuity of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra in Indian Mahayana Buddhism*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990.

Hazra, K.L.. *Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India* Delhi: D.K. Publications, 1984.

Horner, I.B.. *The Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*. Originally 1936. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975 rpt.

Ikeda, Daisaku. *Buddhism, the First Millennium*, trans. Burton Watson. Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1978.

Jones, John Garrett. *Tales and Teachings of the Buddha*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.

Joshi, L.M.. *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture Of India (During the 7th and Eighth centuries A.D.)*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.

Katz, Nathan. *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982.

Kawamura, Leslie ed. *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1981.

Khosla, Sarla. *Gupta Civilization*. Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1982.

---------. *Historical Development of the Buddha Legend*. Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1989.

--------. *The Lalitavistara and the Evolution of the Buddha Legend*. Delhi: Galaxy Publications, 1991.

Kloppenberg, Ria. *The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.

Lamotte, Etienne. *History of Indian Buddhism*, trans. Sara Boin. Louvain-La-Neuve: Institute Orientaliste, 1988.

Ling, Trevor, *The Buddha: Buddhist Civilization in Indiaand Ceylon*. London: Temple Smith, 1973.

Majumdar, R.C. *Advanced History of India*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967.

Misra, G.S.P. *The Age of Vinaya*. Delhi: Munishram Manoharlal, 1972.

Nagao, Gadjin. *Madyamika and Yogacara*, ed. Leslie Kawamura.Albany: SUNY,1991

Nattier, Jan. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.

Pathak, Haldhar. *Cultural History of the Gupta Period*. Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1978.

Pye, Michael. *Skilful Means*. Hertford: Duckworth, 1978.

Rahula, Bhikkhu Telwatte. *A Critical Study of the Mahavastu*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.

Robinson, Richard. *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*. Belmont: Dickinson, 1970.

Roerich, George. *Biography of Dharmasvamin*. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959.

Sangharaksita, Bhikshu. *A Survey of Buddhism*. Bangalore: Indian Institute of World Culture, 1966.

Sankalia, H.D. *The Nalanda University*. Delhi: Oriental Publishers 1972.

Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta and G. Srinivasachari, *Advanced History of India*. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970.

Snellgrove, David. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambala Press, 1987. 2 vols.

Sponberg, Alan. *Maitreya the Future Buddha*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Stcherbatsky, Th. *The Central Concept of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word "Dharma"*. Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1961 rpt..

Suzuki, D.T., *On Indian Mahayana Buddhism*. New York: Harper, 1968.

Takakusu, Junjiro. *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, Win-tsit Chan and Charles Moore eds. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973 rpt.

Upadhyaya, K.N.. *Early Buddhism and the Bhagavad Gita*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.

Warder, A.K. *Indian Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Weinstein, Stanley. *Buddhism Under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Welbon, Guy. *The Buddhist Nirvana and its Western Interpreters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Wijayaratna, M. *Buddhist Monastic Life: According to the Texts of the Theravada tradition*, translated by Claude Gangier and Steven Collins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Williams, Paul *Mahāyāna Buddhism*. London: Routledge, 1989. Wiltshire, Martin. *Ascetic Figures Before and In Early Buddhism*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990.

IV. ARTICLES

Basham, A. L. "Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva" in *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*. ed. Leslie Kawamura. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Univ. Press, 1981.

Chalmers, Robert. "Tathāgata", (*JRAS*, 1898), pp. 103-115

Dargyay, Lobsang. "The View of Bodhicitta in Tibetan Buddhism" in *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*.ed Leslie Kawamura. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Univ. Press, 1981

Jan, Yün-hua. "Dimensions of Indian Buddhism," in *Malalasekera Commemorative Volume*, ed. O. Wijesekera (Colombo: 1976), p. 157-70.

Gomez, Luis. "The Bodhisattva as Wonder-worker," in Lewis Lancaster, *Prajnapāramitā and Related Studies*. Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series, 1977. pp. 221-261.

Kunst, Arnold. "Some Aspects of the *Ekayāna*" in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*, ed. Lewis Lancaster Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series, 1977. pp. 313-323

MacQueen, Graeme "Inspired Speech in early Mahāyāna Buddhism I ",(*Religion* 1981) 11: 03-19; and "Inspired Speech in early Mahayana Buddhism II", (*Religion* 1982) 12:49-65.

Rhys-Davids. T.W. "Theory of Soul in the Upanishads", (*JRAS*, 1899), p.79-90.

Ruegg, D. Seyfort. " The *gotra*, *ekayāna* and *tathāgatagarbha* theories of the Prajñāpāramitā according to Dharmakīrti and Abhāyakaragupta" *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*, ed. Lewis Lancaster (Berkeley: Buddhist Studies Series, 1977), pp. 283-312;

Sponberg, Allan. "Hsuan Tsang". *Encyclopedia of Religions*. Mircea Eliade, ed. New York: MacMillan, 1987. Vol. 6, pp. 480-82.

--------. "K'uei-chi". *Encyclopedia of Religions*. Mircea Eliade, ed.. New York: MacMillan, 1987. Vol. 8. pp. 394-95.

Walleser, M.. "The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources," in *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, ed. Bruno Schindler (London: Probstain, 1923), pp. 421-455.

V. WORKS OF REFERENCE

Chi, Yi, ed.. *Fuo-guang da ci dian* (Buddhist Encyclopedia). Fuo Guang Publishing House, Taiwan 1989.

Eliade, M. ed.. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York, MacMillan, 1987.

Geiger, Magdelene and Wilhelm. *Pali Dhamma: vornemlich in der kanonischen literature*. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Band XXXI, May 1920. Munchen: Verlag der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920.

Hastings, James, ed.. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1921.

Kane, P. V.. *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1968. 5 vols.

Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 rpt.

Malalasekera, G.P. ed. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1961--, Vol 2, fasc. 1, 1966

Rhys Davids, T.W. and William Stede, eds. *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. (*PTSD*) London: Pali Text Society, 1966.